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Women in Mining: Occupational Culture and Gendered Identities in the Making

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is solely my own work and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it at any university for a degree. The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.

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18th _____day of _____Agust_____2016

Acknowledgements and Dedication

Doing this PhD was much more than just the research; writing, reading and thinking. For me, it was also a lesson on perseverance, consistency and breathing. It stretched me in ways unimaginable. I reached many "breaking points" but somehow I bounced back and it's all because of the support of my family, close friends and my supervisor. The word 'support' does not do justice to the work they've done. You all carried me when I had no energy, no patience, no kindness, when I was totally empty. I thank each and everyone of you from the bottom of my heart. My parents are also thankful. By preserving my sanity you preserved theirs. This research would not have been possible without the generosity of many women who work and live around the mines in Rustenburg- my deepest gratitude.

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I dedicate this to my late sister, a proud, unapologetic and happy feminist who was born on this day (11 March) and left too soon.

Your memory lives on - Sinazo P. Benya (1986-2001).

Abstract

This research contributes to an understanding of how female mineworkers make sense of themselves and how gender identities are constructed in mining. Mine work has for a long time been seen as allowing for particular masculine self-formations and mineworkers embodying specific mining masculine subjectivities. The entrance of women in South African mines from 2004 and their allocation into occupations that were previously exclusively reserved for men is a significant challenge and a disruption to masculine subjectivities and the occupational culture. This thesis illustrates what transpires when socially constructed gender boundaries are crossed. This is what the women are doing with their entry into underground mining.

For ten and a half months, between 2011 and 2012 I worked in the mines and lived with mineworkers. During this period I completely submerged myself into the life world of mine workers to get an in-depth understanding of the ways female mineworkers understand themselves and navigate the masculine mining world. I managed to get the subtle, nuanced, instantaneous and unnoticeable ways which produce and reproduce the fluid and contested gender identities.

Drawing on insights from a range of feminist theorists and feminist readings of theories I argue that the construction of gendered identities in mining is an ongoing embodied performative process which is articulated in fluid ways in different mining spaces within certain structural, relational and historical constraints. The thesis presents a typology outlining four categories of femininities; *mafazi*, money makers, real *mafazi* and *madoda* straight, that are performed and produced underground by women mineworkers. At home these performances are unstable and disrupted as women attempt to reconcile their role as mothers, wives and their workplace

identities as underground miners with their notions of femininity. This necessitates a renegotiation of gender ideologies, performances and identities.

In this thesis I succinctly present the fluid, multiple, contradictory and contested processes involved in constructing gendered identities; above ground, underground, and at home. Drawing from this evidence I conclude that women do not approach the workplace or labour process as empty vessels or act as cogs-in the mining machines but are active agents in the construction of their gender identities.

The key elements I use to analyse gendered identities are; gendered spaces, embodiment, social and material bodies (as sites of control, resistance and agency) and performativity. I argue that all of these converge and are central to the construction of gendered identities.

Key Words:

Women in mining, gendered identities, subjectivities, femininities, masculinities, gender performances, embodiment, gendered spaces, gender transformation.

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Abbreviations

AIM	Agency for Industrial Mission
AMCU	Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union
ANC	African National Congress
ANC	African National Congress
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CoM	Chamber of Mines
DME	Department of Minerals and Energy
DMR	Department of Mineral Resources
DoJ	Department of Justice
FOG	Fall of Ground
GDI	Gas Detection Instrumentation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HTS	Heat Tolerance Screening
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LHD	Load Haul Dump loaders
MHSA	Mine Health and Safety Act
MO	Mine Overseer
MPRDA	Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
OHS	Occupationsl Health and Safety
PGMs	Platinum Group Metals
PPE	Personal Protective Equipment
PTV	Pipe Transport and Ventilation

RBN	Royal Bafokeng Nation
RDO	Rock Drill Operator
TEBA	The Employment Bureau of Africa
UASA	United Association of South Africa
WIM	Women in Mining
BBSEC	Broad-Based Socio-Economic Empowerment Charter of 2002
MHSA	Mine Health and Safety Act of 1996
BCEA	Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997
LRA	Labour Relations Act of 1996
SDA	Skills Development Act of 1998
EEA	Employment Equity Act of 1998
WENELA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

Glossary

Bank	Where workers wait for the cage
Basebenzi	Workers
Bass Boys	Pikinini
Braai	Barbeque
Charge up	To put explosives inside drilled holes
Chayile	To knock off
Development	Where a working place is developed.
Face	The area that is drilled and blasted during mining.
Fanakalo	(or fanagalo) is a mine pidgin language
Gang	Crew/team
GDI	A portable gas detector device for underground mining
Gundwane	A rat meaning a scab labourer
Half level	A place where meetings are held underground
Haulage	The passage way
Heat tolerance screening (HTS)	The physical test that mineworkers have to undergo to assess whether or not their bodies are fit to work underground in hot and humid conditions.
Homeboy/girl	A person from the same village or province or town as you
Imbizo	Is a discussion forum or a mass meeting, and traditionally it is attended by men, though this has changed.
Imithetho	Rules
Jombolo	A jumper or drill pipes
Kraal	An animal enclosure

Lobolo	(or lobola) bride price paid by a man to the family of the woman.
Madala	An old man
Madala site	An already mined and disused section
Magogo	Grandmother or elderly woman
Makarapa	Hard hat
Malayisha	Manual labourer
Malome	Uncle or adult male
Mamo ruti	A pastor's wife
Mashini	Drilling machine
Mfazi	Wife, adult female, woman (bafazi- plural)
Mgodi	Underground
Miner	The worker who oversees teams underground and has a blasting certificate.
Misfire	When explosives fail to discharge as planned during a mine blast
Msele girl	A female pipe, ventilation assistant
Mshini boy	Rock Drill Operator
Mtiya-tiya	Ventilation curtain
Muthi	Traditional medicine / herbs
Ntate	Setswana word used to refer to older men.
Panel operator	A worker who loads ore and cleans the panel or rock face.
Pikinini	A shift supervisor assistant; carries the supervisor's bag and takes measurements for him.
Pipe, transport & ventilation (PTV):	Installs pipes underground to ensure easy mining. Also known as helper equipping helper.

Planisa	To make a plan with missing material in order to reach production targets.
Refuge bay	An underground emergency safe house
Rock drill operators (RDOs):	The drill machine operator.
Sephatlo	A hollowed out loaf of bread filled with fried potatoes, archar (pickled spicy vegetables), polony (processed meats) & cheese
Skontiri	An extra production shift
Sphukuphuku	A fool or to be foolish
Stof	Mined out ore or Personal Protective Equipment
Stope	Where drilling and blasting takes place.
Store issuers	Issue workers with working material
Sub-standard	To evade the mine rules or to deploy planisa
Surface	Above ground; offices or change houses
Swaya-swaya	To move about aimlessly
Tafel	Hanging wall
Thayiter	To hold your breath and tighten your muscles
Ubudoda (madoda)	Masculinity or manliness
Ukuhlonipha	Cultural ways of showing respect
Waiting place	A shed-like office, where crews individually meet to prepare for work
Winch operator	Pulls the ore from the working stations to the tip, from where it is transported to the main tip and then to surface. They use winch machines connected to scrapers to pull the ore.
Working place	(or working station) where workers load, drill and blast.

Maps of the Study Area

Figure 1: Map showing South Africa[1]

Figure 2: North West province[2]

[1] http://www.sancold.org.za/index.php/activities/icold-annual-meeting-2016
[2] http://www.platinumweekly.co.za/images/SA_Main%20Map_NorthWest.png

Figure 3: Map Showing Rustenburg[3]

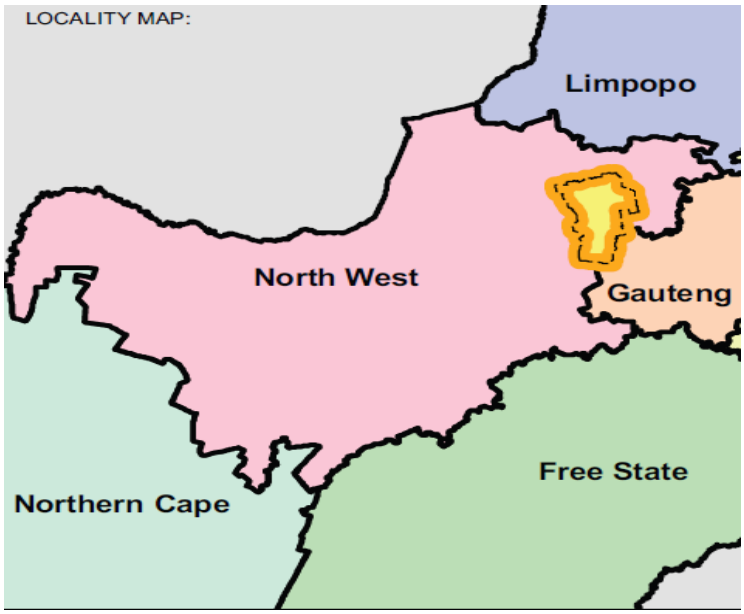
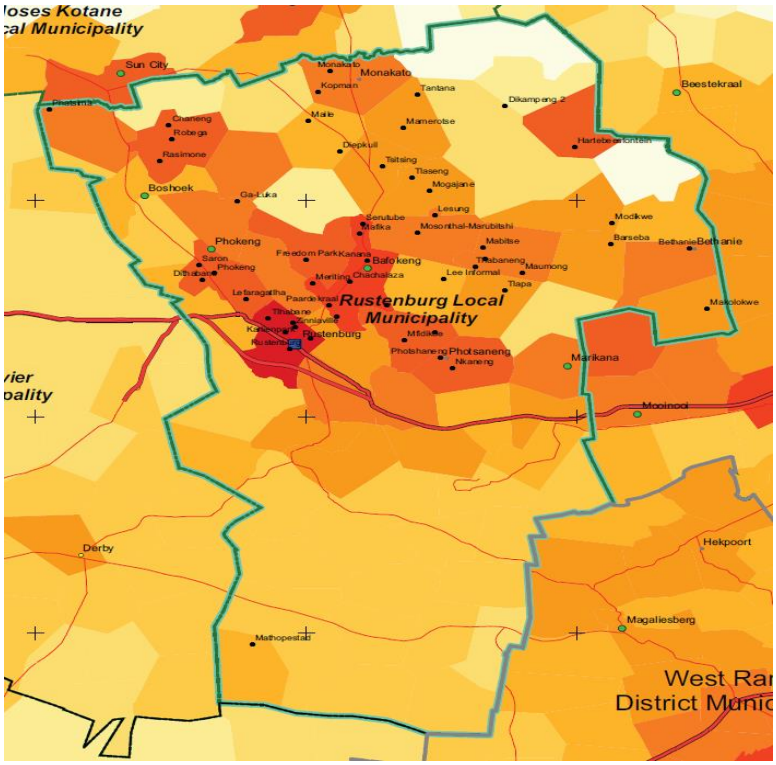
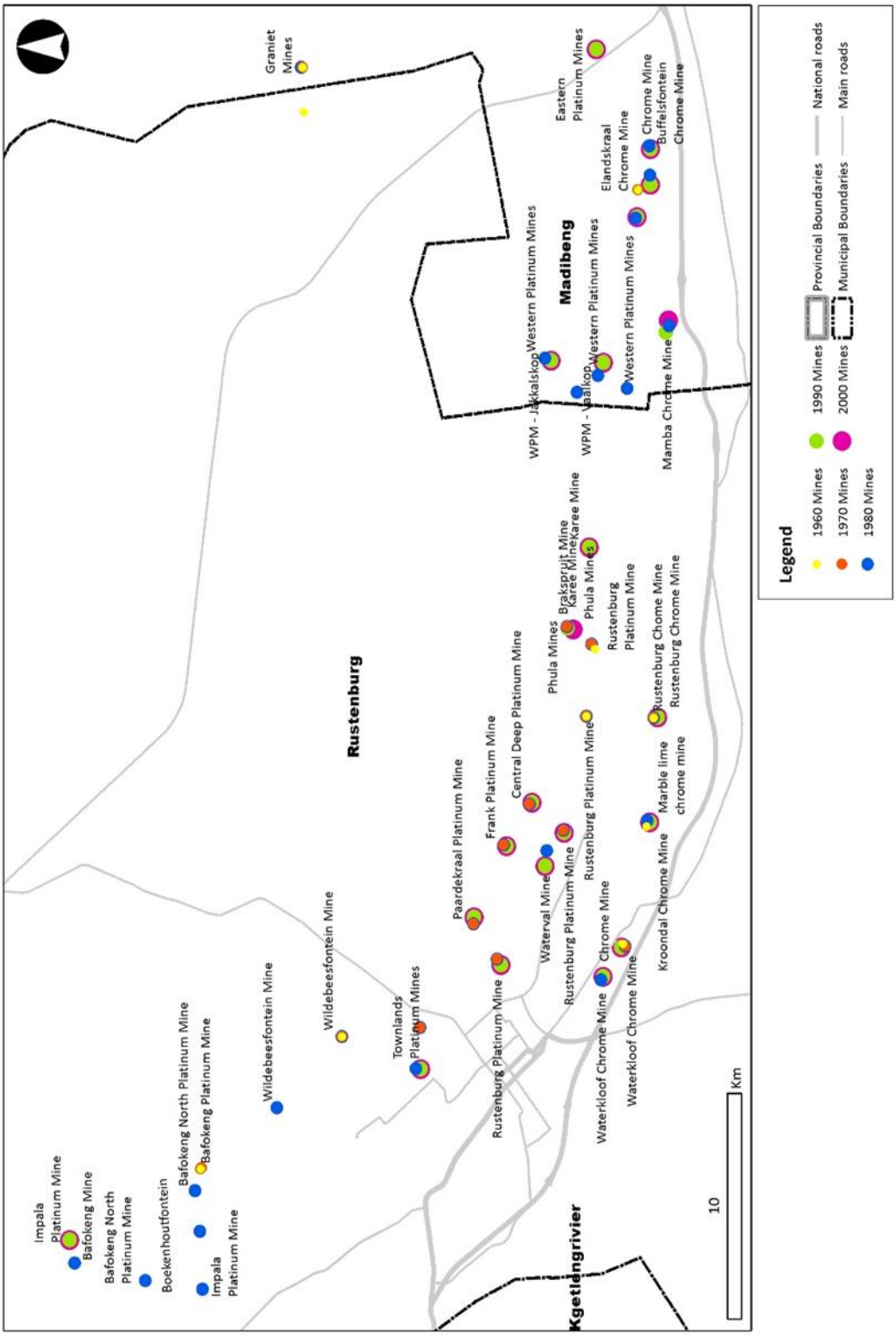


Figure 4: Rustenburg Local Municipality



[3] Rustenburg Spatial Development Framework (2010 Review)

Figure 5: Mine Shafts, 1960-2006



(Source: Lefekane and Maina, 2014 in Rubin 2015

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Prologue: Gender and Mining

In July 2008 I set out to Rustenburg, a platinum-mining town about 130km north-west of Johannesburg. For almost three months I lived and worked with mineworkers to 'study' women who had recently been employed to work underground in the mines. To get a broad understanding of the challenges that were facing women in the mines I worked with different teams that had women in their complement. I changed teams every week or two. We lashed ore, installed ventilation and water pipes, cleaned stopes and connected blasting cables. One day, after returning from a 7 or 8 hour shift underground, Lerato, a woman I was working with, came up to me to say goodbye since it was my last day with her team. Confused as to who she was, I looked at her with a blank face. She looked at me and said: "It's me, Lerato. We were together underground just now and we worked together for the past two weeks. Do you not recognise me?" I did not recognise Lerato. She looked, acted, walked and talked different from the Lerato I had spent two weeks working with underground. She went on to reassure me that it was indeed her; she had just changed from her underground overalls to her 'real' clothes hence, she *was* different. I witnessed this change of demeanour, and my inability to recognise some of my colleagues above ground, on many occasions.

Intrigued by incidents such as this, and with lingering questions, in 2011 and 2012 I returned to study identities in mining. I was interested in how women make sense of themselves against the masculine underground and mining culture. In the months that followed I not only saw the changes and heard about them, but I was also roped in. I had to change how I walked, talked, acted and thought. My co-workers told me that I had to "forget myself" when going underground. Others told me that if I wanted to be safe, productive and to 'fit-in' with the

underground world I had leave my *surface self* behind and adopt an *underground self*, much like the self Lerato had exhibited in 2008. The *underground self* was fearless, took risks and prioritized meeting production targets. Sometimes women in their *underground selves* acted more like my male co-workers, very different from their *surface selves*. Indeed, some women often remarked that they were "men at work, and women at home". They admitted to changing how they behaved in the multiple spaces they navigated. It is these shifts in women's gender performances and identities that this study is concerned with.

Mine work has for a long time been seen as allowing for and embodying particular masculine subjectivities, or "masculine self-formation" (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994: 16). Indeed, Moodie & Ndatshe (1994: 16) argues, "in all Western patriarchal societies, general identity-forming themes emerge as aspects of mine cultures". Most studies in South Africa, for example, that try to understand masculinity draw on the mining industry (Moodie 1988; Moodie & Ndatshe 1994; Breckenridge 1998; Morrell 1998; Magubane 2002; Niehaus 2009). It is the site of power *par excellence*, of domination, the centre of gender relations, and a "potent symbol of masculinity" (Kvande 1999: 305; Mercier & Gier 2009). This makes mining a rich site for the exploration of the construction of gendered identities and to make claims about gendered identities, gender relations and order.

The entrance of women into mining has generally been approached from three main perspectives. The first, mainly conservative and sometimes reactionary and driven by male workers and supervisors, aims to maintain the status quo and promote 'appropriate' gender roles and thus women's domesticity. It argues that the inclusion of women in mining is 'unnatural' as women are meant to be in the domestic sphere, and will negatively impact safety

and production underground.[4] This view has been used to legitimize the slow gender transformation and integration of women in mining. The second perspective, mainly from liberal feminists and politicians, argues that the inclusion of women in mining symbolises a breakdown of gender barriers which have historically prevented women from entering the mines, and therefore represents an advance for equality. The third and more critical perspective argues that women's inclusion in masculine workplaces (including the mines) indeed disrupts "gender regimes" (Connell 2002: 53), masculine normativity and hegemony, but does not necessarily alter the gender order and hierarchy. The third notion has been supported by studies that argue that when women enter masculine workplaces they tend to assimilate to masculine norms and values and distance themselves from femininity (Kvande 1999; Jorgenson 2002; Sasson-Levy 2003; Pyke & Johnson 2003; Czarniawska 2013). The premise is that, while their entrance disrupts somatic norms and highlights the ways in which spaces are gendered, it does not lead to a reimagining of gender and gender order, relations and regimes, but reinforces masculine hegemony and gender binaries (Puwar 2004a, 2004b; Sasson-Levy 2002, 2003, 2007; Irvine & Vermilya 2010).

In this thesis I go beyond the above assertions and draw a more complex picture of women in mining and the construction of gendered identities in mining. It is undisputed that women's inclusion, especially in underground occupations that typify masculinity, is a significant challenge and a disruption in how we have imagined mining and as such, the mines provide a rich site for the study of the making of gender identities. Women's inclusion in mining brings to focus and makes visible what has long been considered a natural affiliation between men

[4] See evidence of these views by mineworkers, unionists and mine management in Simango 2006; Mercier & Gier 2009; Macintyre 2006; Benya 2009a.

and mines, masculinity and mining productivity, mine culture, and the ideal mineworker. The presence of women in mining, therefore, challenges and changes the eternalised and naturalised "coupling of particular spaces with specific types of bodies" (Puwar 2004: 8). It raises questions about gender and power relations in mining and also makes possible the theorisation of gender as a performance at this particular site, the mines.

For almost eleven months, between 2011 and 2012, I worked and lived in the mines examining the construction of gendered identities in mining. To get at the in-depth and everyday practices which are important in the construction of gendered identities I used participant observation, life histories, formal interviews, focus group discussions and relied on day-to-day conversations.

These methods enabled me to explore how female mineworkers make sense of themselves, how they position themselves and how they navigate masculine discourses and practices in the spaces they inhabit. I was interested in the ways the masculine occupational culture in mining shapes or influences the gendered identities women enacted. Moreover, I wanted to understand what happens when socially constructed gender boundaries are crossed as women in mining seem to be doing with their entry into underground mining. The study, therefore, is an examination of how gendered identities are constructed in mining.

Inspired by feminist approaches, the theoretical frameworks I employ are dynamic and reject binary-inclined, linear and essentialising notions of gendered identities (Gasa 2007a; 2007b; 2007c). I therefore conceive of gender identity construction as an ongoing series of relational and situational 'positionings' that are constructed and reconstructed through the everyday negotiations of practices; the doings and sayings which implicate gender (Kvande 1999; Martin

2001; 2003; Jorgenson 2002; Sasson-Levy 2002, 2003; Czarniawska 2013). Adopting a feminist approach enables me to get at nuances, the subjective practices and discourses, the resistance and agency of women workers that would otherwise be difficult to get at with meta-theories alone.

What I also demonstrate in this study are the nuanced barriers to the inclusion of women in mining. Alongside that, I also illustrate the ways in which women challenge these invisible barriers while working *with* and *on* them and how others tactically reproduce them as a means of surviving the everyday masculine underground world.

Below I construct a theory of gender, with insights from a range of feminist theorists or feminist readings of theories, which brings together embodiment, gendered spaces, gender in spaces and performativity within the mining context. I argue that the construction of gendered identities in mining is an ongoing embodied process which is articulated in fluid ways in different mining spaces within certain structural, relational and historical constraints.

1.2 Contextual Background

According to the Department of Mineral Resources (DMR), there are over 52 000 women working in South African mines, roughly 10.9% of the total mining workforce (DMR 2014). In platinum mines the figures reported for women in mining range from 14% for Anglo Platinum[5], 10.4% for Impala Platinum[6] and 8.2% for Lonmin.[7]

[5] Anglo American Platinum Sustainable Development Report 2014.
[6] Impala: Sustainable Development Report (2014)
[7] Lonmin Annual Report 2014

The figures above of women in mining are novel 'highs' since women in South Africa have largely been absent from mining. The exception to this seems to have been the asbestos mines which had significant percentages (and sometimes up to half of the workforce) of women workers between the 1890s and 1980s (McCulloch 2010: 413). Instead, the general trend in the rest of mining was to exclude women and this exclusion was legislated: the 1911 Mines and Works Act No. 12 and the South African Minerals Act of 1991.[8] The exclusion of women in mining during the colonial and apartheid era will be explored in the next chapter. Important to note in this chapter is that in post-apartheid South Africa these laws were repealed and replaced by more 'inclusive' legislation which promoted the inclusion of women in mining.

1.3 The policy shift

The transition[9] from apartheid to post-apartheid led to changes in the South African economy, particularly in the mining industry, which facilitated women's inclusion in mining. The adoption of various legislation all accelerated women's inclusion (Simango 2006; Benya 2009a). These include the Constitution which is the supreme law of the Republic of South Africa, and the Bill of Rights (1996), the Mine Health and Safety Act (1996), the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA 2002) and the Broad-Based Socio-Economic Empowerment Charter (Mining Charter 2002).[10] The Mining Charter, for instance, sets six

[8] The banning of women from mining in South Africa was partly prompted by the British Mines Act of 1842. Other countries which also banned women from mining were Sweden in 1900, Russia in 1917, Japan in 1928 and India in 1929 (Lahiri-Dutt and Macintyre 2006; and Alexander, 2007)

[9] Von Holdt (2003; 2005) and Webster & von Holdt (2005:4) have called the transition a "triple transition"; political, economic and social, while earlier work by Webster and Adler (1999) and Adler and Webster (2000) saw it as a "double transition" mainly focusing on the political and economic transition.

[10] Other general labour legislations adopted after 1994 include, but is not limited to; the Labour Relations Act of 1996, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997 and the Employment Equity Act of 1998.

specific targets with time frames.[11] One of these is a 10% participation of women in mining within five years (from 2004).[12] Progress on targets is monitored by the Commission on Gender Equality, an independent Chapter Nine Institution[13] (McEwan 2001) which promotes gender equality and ensures the protection of gender rights. These policies and targets, which were strictly enforced with severe penalties (such as possibilities of withdrawal of a mining licence if not implemented) were the bedrock of women's inclusion in mining (Benya 2009a& 2009b).

While the inclusion of women in mining is legislated and women can now work underground, in practice it was not a welcome change, it produced "a state of disorientation and ontological anxiety" (Puwar 2004: 13) in the industry with some male workers and some in management claiming that women negatively affect productivity, mining traditions, morals, families and ultimately society (Benya 2009a). As such, the position of women in mining is tenuous, occurring within certain limitations and has a certain effect on the gendered identities women enact and the subject positions available to them in the mines. My entry point, therefore, is to try and understand how women in mining see themselves against their historical exclusion and the naturalised masculine mining culture.

[11] To ensure empowerment of the previously excluded and disadvantaged the industry has committed to human resources development which is based on the Skills Development Act 97 of 1998, to the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998, addressing Migrant Labour through the Immigration Act 13 of 2002, Mine Community development, Housing and living conditions, amongst many others (Mining Charter Impact Assessment Report, October 2009).
[12] The Bill has been revised twice since 2004; first in 2009 and again in 2014.
[13] Chapter Nine Institutions are institutions established in terms of Section 187 of the SA Constitution (1996) to safeguard the country's democracy.

1.4 The significance of the mining sector in South Africa

Mining in South Africa is important in many ways: as the driver of the economy, the heart of industrialisation and also as a site of the constitution of the South African society. Characterized by racial despotism, exploitation and migrant labour, mining has been the main driver of the South African economy since the late nineteenth century (Wolpe 1972; Crush 1986; Webster & von Holdt 2005; Webster et al. 1999; Moodie 1988; Wilson 1972; Moodie & Ndatshe 1992, 1994; Wilson 2001; Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout 2008; 2010; Buhlungu 2006; Alexander 2013; Chinguno 2013). Mining's latest overall GDP contribution, according to the Chamber of Mines (2014b, 2014c, 2015), is 16% of the country's GDP and a nominal value of 8.3% of GDP (see Table 1). It employs close to 1.3 million people, 500 000 directly and 800 000 indirectly. Only 10.9% of the 512 878 direct mining employees are women (DME 2013). The Chamber of Mines estimates that 13 million people depend on the mining industry for their livelihood.[14] In 2012 mining contributed R21.4 billion in direct corporate tax, accounted for 14.1% of total corporate taxes and paid R5.6 billion in royalties to the South African government for extracting minerals (Chamber of Mines 2013).

[14] Census 2011, conducted by Statistics South Africa, puts the dependency ratio at 37.9 for Rustenburg, see http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993&id=rustenburg-municipality. Accessed on 2 April 2015

Table 1: Overall Mining GDP Contributions, Employment and Ave. Wages

Description	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
GDP contribution: Mining(R'millions nominal terms)	R196 521	R228 230	R274 530	R270 096	R279 691
% of total GDP (nominal)	8.2	8.5	9.4	8.6	8.3
Direct Employment	491 794	498 906	512 878	524 632	512 878
Ave annual wages per worker	134 389	148 963	169 577	178 426	197 632

Source: Chamber of Mines of South Africa 2015: Overview of the South African Mining Industry

While historically gold has had the highest GDP and employment contributions, with trade liberalization and the depletion of gold reserves, many shafts have closed down and workers have been retrenched. The gold mining industry's employment has declined from 474 000 in 1990 to an average of 220 000 in 1998 and the number continues to fall (Malherbe 2000). Platinum, however, has been on the rise.[15] Table 2 depicts this shift:

Table 2: Number of employees in Gold and Platinum[16]

Commodity	1999	2004	2009	2011
Gold	222 389	179 964	159 925	145 561
Platinum	90 000	150 630	184 163	194 979
Gold and Platinum	312 389	330 594	344 088	340 540
Total Mining	**437 028**	**448 909**	**419 794**	**513 211**

Source: Facts and Figures 2008 and Facts and Figures 2011, Chamber of Mines of South Africa

[15] See Bezuidenhout 2008, Benya and Webster 2013
[16] Chamber of Mines Facts & Figures 2004-2011 Reports

A comprehensive picture of the recent 'mineral shift' from gold to platinum also points to a 'spatial shift', from urban industrial centres such as Johannesburg to rural communally owned and traditionally administered land in the former homelands such as Rustenburg (Capps 2010; Mwana & Capps 2015). The 'platinum towns' are located in two provinces: Limpopo and North-West respectively. As shown in Figure 5 above, a high number of shafts are located around Rustenburg (my research site) and Madibeng Local Municipalities. Sixty per cent of platinum in South Africa and 40% of the World's platinum production happens within the borders of Rustenburg (Figures 2, 3, 4 & 5 on page xv-xvii).[17] It is in this rural region, with the highest reserves of platinum that my study takes place. Importantly, women had never worked in these mines until after the legislative changes discussed.

Table 3: Platinum Group Metals (PGM) Mining Contributions to SA Economy

	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Contribution to GDP (real R'm)	53 161	56 277	56 580	49 820	51 749
% of GDP	2.2	2.0	2.0	1.7	1.7
Employment (number)	184 163	181 969	194 745	197 847	191 286
Wages paid (R'm)	24 456,8	26 553,7	30 414,9	34 400,0	37 210,7
Wages paid per worker (annual)	132 801	145 924	155 990	173 872	194 529

Source: Chamber of Mines of South Africa 2015: Overview of the South African Mining Industry, CT mining Indaba February 2015.

With over 13 million people in a country of 54 million relying on the mining industry its significance cannot be overstated. Since the discovery of mineral resources in the mid-1800s,

[17] www.nwpg.gov.za/sde/stquo.ase

in many ways, mining has influenced how South Africa has imagined itself. It has also come to reflect the economy, politics, and social rhythms of the country, connecting the rural and urban areas and white and black populations, albeit asymmetrically (Fine & Rustomjee 1996; Wilson 2001; Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu 2010; Moodie 1994; Capps 2010).[18] It has been the undisputed and 'protected' masculine preserve, one that has been unsettled by the entrance of women in mining. As to what extent this disruption is changing how mining has been imagined, performances of gender and how workers see themselves- their gendered identities, remains a puzzle and my concern in this thesis.

Below I provide a framework of how I have structured the thesis and the multiple ways my intervention on women in mining can be read, given the history I have outlined above. While my main concern is the construction of gendered identities, I argue that the thesis can be read in multiple ways.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

In Chapter 2 I detail the qualitative approaches I employed and several methodological insights I contribute, especially concerning notions of 'insiders and outsiders' in ethnography and moments of disruption and limits to that idea. Deploying participant observation, amongst other methods, where I worked underground as a winch operator and lived with mineworkers for ten months provided me with a lens to get at the verbally inaccessible but observable practices. I was able not only to hear, but to witness and feel the contradictions, frustrations and confusions

[18] Some of the country's prominent political figures, though not popular anymore, carved out their political careers from the mining union; the previous and current deputy presidents, a number of ministers and the ruling party's current General Secretary. Mineworkers have also been considered the 'labour elites' of South Africa (Mercier & Gier 2009), playing a significant role in transition to democracy.

confronting women as they navigate underground and daily construct fluid gendered identities. Being embedded in the mines, the work process, the teams and daily lives of workers allowed me to distinguish between exceptions and routines in workers' experiences. I also critically reflect on my experiences as an ethnographer, my own 'vertigo' moments. I detail challenges and lessons learnt from participant observation and advantages of it for the question I was exploring. I link the methods I chose to the theoretical framework informing the study.

Chapter 3 is a review of literature and theoretical framework. I first review the history of mining and demonstrate that dominant studies in mining have maily adopted a masculine lens and ignored women's role, both in South Africa and globally. I argue that the absence of women in mining history can be located in the construction of the mines as masculine organisations driven by a masculine culture. While women in mining are absent from mining literature, geographers, labour historians of women's work and feminist scholars have sought to recover the role played by women in mining. Since the 1980s, and more so in the 2000s, there has been overwhelming evidence which points to the presence of women in mining. It is this evidence that I use as a springboard to study femininities in mining. While an important contribution, I argue that these recent studies take for granted the gender they examine and do not elaborate on its construction. This is what my study seeks to address. The second part of the chapter weaves together the literature on underground mining with more conceptual notions of performativity, embodiment, gendered spaces and language. This chapter lays the groundwork for the conceptual framework of the whole thesis.

Chapter 4 builds on the background of the mines already alluded to in Chapter 2. I give a comprehensive picture of the setting of my study area. I use this chapter to introduce the mines, the occupations and the women I focus on in this thesis. I give a sense of who these women

mineworkers are, what they do underground and for how long they have been in mining. Women's biographies allow me to locate them within specific socio-economic and historical contexts. The biographies straddle two locations: the workplace and home-spaces I separate, for analytical purposes, in ensuing chapters.

Chapter 5 explores the different production spaces workers navigate in mining. I focus on three macro spaces: above ground ('surface'), underground, and the cage. I also complicate this picture through examining some micro spaces within the larger spaces mentioned. My analysis therefore employs different scales. I detail the ways in which 'the worker' subject constructs and is constructed in space, and how spaces reflect and produce (gendered) power relations. I argue that 'the worker' does not come to the mines ready-made, but is a product of the different spaces in the mines; workers say they change who they are, how they see themselves and how they act as they move from surface to underground. Using spatial logics that are known to the 'real workers' they synchronize their ways of being to the spaces they navigate. The navigation requires that one plays certain gender games. While I exclusively focus on the production space in this chapter, later in Chapter 9 I return to the reproduction space. I separate the two chapters for analytical purposes only because in reality, as I will demonstrate, they are in constant dialogue. Workers do not abdicate their home ideas about femininity when they get to the different work spaces, even though they may suspend them at times. They do not approach the workplace or labour process as empty canvasses but as women who are influenced by the production space as much as they are influenced by the reproduction space.

Chapter 6 builds on the concept of spaces but shifts to the scale of the body. It explores how the disciplined and material body is produced at the different spaces by the mine and workers. Using Foucault, and drawing from feminist readings of the body, I demonstrate how

embodiment is operationalied through disciplinary mechanisms. In producing a mineworker, the mining disciplinary regime, using mining technologies of surveillance, targets the body; breaks it down, pacifies, rearranges, manages and polices it. The material body of a mineworker, therefore, which is central to how workers see themselves, is 'excavated' through the disciplinary practices and discourses in mining. The significance of embodiment in the construction of gendered identities runs through and anchors the chapter.

Chapter 7 is the crux of my theory of gender and women in mining. It complicates the picture already drawn about the construction of gendered identities. I illustrate how workers' flexible gendered practices in the mines, which influence subjectivities, are embodied and located in certain spaces. In short I argue that gendered spaces and gender performativity, embodiment, and bodies as sites of control, resistance and agency, all converge and are central to the construction of gendered identities. This is a dynamic, contingent and contested process, filled with contradictions where there are active and strategic refusals at times to enact certain gender performances or take certain subject positions. The fluid negotiations I articulate in the performances of gender yield four femininities; mafazi, money makers, real mafazi and madoda straight.

While in Chapter 7 I illustrate four femininities performed by women in mining, in Chapter 8, which examines the home space, these performances are disrupted. The four femininities become unstable at home, necessitating that women renegotiate gender performances. In Chapter 8, therefore, I demonstrate how women's conceptions of themselves at home and their occupations as mineworkers intersect or deviate and how women rationalize contradictions and 'deviations' in their performances of gender at home. This chapter further illuminates my claim about the continuity and fluidity of construction of gendered identities of women mineworkers.

I conclude in Chapter 9 by summarising my argument on the fluidity and relationality of gendered identity construction in mining. I draw connections between embodiment, bodies and power, spaces, relations and performativity. Important to my theorising on the fluidity of gendered identities is this particular workplace; the mine as a site of power, a space of domination (though workers demonstrate a great deal of resistance and agency) which makes possible certain positionalities. Finally, I then weigh in on whether these femininities enacted at home and at work are necessarily transformative or only a disruption to the gender order but leave intact the gender regime. I then raise questions for further research.

1.6 Conclusion

In this study we learn *about* women in mining and also *from* women in mining. Burawoy (1991: 5) draws a clear link between learning about a specific social situation and also learning from that social situation and thus to be in a position to make claims that are valid beyond the case in point. The study therefore moves from the micro, the specific, to the macro, since the macro is shaped "by the micro world, the everyday world of face-to-face interaction" (Burawoy 1991: 6). From the gendered identities enacted by women in mining one can see the "multifaceted nature of the South African transition" (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout 2008: 265), the multiple platforms where the transition is contested and old orders reconfigured and reproduced.

This thesis can, therefore, be read in multiple ways; as a case study on women in mining or women in a masculine industry who are disturbing and challenging the status quo, redrawing, or reproducing and even transforming gender boundaries and contesting masculine hegemony and refusing notions that naturalize masculinity with skill in mining. It can also be read as a

feminist intervention in mining literature, which, firstly, recognises and re-centres women in mining and acknowledges potentialities that such an inclusion brings to the gendered discourse and practices in mining and beyond mining, and secondly, exposes the naturalised and universalised masculine ways of being and working which are embedded in the very fabric of the mines, mine culture, order and mining sensibilities. Such a reading also reveals the vulnerability of gender and performativity of masculinities and femininities. It can also be read as a study on gendered identities which brings to the fore the hidden paradoxes and complexities to the taken for granted connections drawn between men, mines, gender and embodiment in mining. Finally, it can also be read as a study on complexities inherent in (gender) transformation (whether at an organisational level or national level) whose contribution is to illuminate the hidden nuances and paradoxes in institutional and structural change. I think it talks to all of these and will also resonate with national questions on transformation and inclusion.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Introduction: Methodological Approach

In the previous chapter I introduced my study and gave a brief background of the significance of mining in South Africa. I alluded to women's exclusion from mining and I accounted for their recent inclusion and how it has been interpreted.

This chapter details the methodology utilised in this study. My methodological approach was informed by my research question, which relates to women's conceptions of self, how they navigate the underground work space and the meanings they attach to their understandings of self**.** I wanted to grasp, practically, what being a woman working underground means and how it is experienced. I complemented my participant observations with focus group interviews, life histories, formal and informal interviews and diaries written by myself and by the women. Throughout this thesis I draw on data gathered through these multiple techniques and also through my own bodily experiences as a participant.

2.2 Participant Observation

To get a proper grasp of women's experiences and understandings of gendered identity I used ethnography, employing participant observation, also known as "natural sociology" (Burawoy 1991: 2) or deploying "carnal sociology" (Wacquant 2005: 466). [19] Here, the body is a tool

[19] Participant observation has been successfully employed in a number of other mining studies before. For instance, Burawoy (1972) in his study of the Zambian copper mines used participant observation, in 1976 the Agency for Industrial Mission (AIM) and most recently Webster et al (1999) employed the same method in a

rather than an impediment to the process of enquiry. Participant observation is described as 'natural' because the time, location and setting of the research occur naturally; they are not constructed by the researcher (Lichterman 2002; Wacquant 2004); people are in "their own everyday lives" (Burawoy 1991: 2). This method is a deliberate observation of and participation in the social realities one is studying. By virtue of 'participating' in the scenes I was obtrusive, not a "fly on the wall" (Fine 1993:280). However, I did not direct the scenes. I employed this method because I was interested in the subtle, nuanced, instantaneous and unnoticeable ways in which gender is produced and practiced (Martin 2001) and retrospective interviews would not have captured these nuances.

I worked and lived with workers in Rustenburg for ten and a half months; the first two months were in 2011 (end September until end November), where I trained underground as an equipment helper and as a scraper winch operator. In 2012 I worked underground (April until November) in different teams, mainly as a winch operator and sometimes as a general worker.[20] During this period I completely submerged myself into the life world of workers (McLeod & Thomson 2009; Gillespie & Michelson 2011). I did not only work with them underground, but I also lived in a mine residence, ate at the same dining hall, 'hung out' at the same social spaces and attended the same social events. [21]

study of the impact of ultra-deep mining on the occupational culture of miners, Phakathi (2001; 2002; 2010) and Stewart (2012).

[20] The four months break in between was necessary to reflect, synthesis the data already gathered at the training centre and strategise for the longer eight months period.

[21] I did not live in a 'hostel' as there are no hostels for women. It was a 'residence', equivalent of what is now called family units. The difference is that it is a room, instead of a 'unit'. It was a comfortable room consisting of a bed, a desk, a shower and cupboard space.

I did not 'play a role', but was a worker underground, an apprentice (Lande 2007; Wacquant 2005). Initially, however, I was confused about my role, on how and who to be underground. This limited my ability to navigate the space and gain rapport and build friendships (Srinivas et al. 2002; Wacquant 2005). In the process of chasing production targets, however, and making sure I was safe I eventually *forgot* about 'playing a role'. This mental shift was also facilitated by self-reflections, engagement with literature and getting used to the mines and workers. I thus shifted from playing a role to being a worker who was also observing work and others and trying to perfect her skills.

While I was also always upfront about being a student from the University doing research on women who work in mining, I also emphasised that I had been formally trained as a winch operator and equipment helper and was 'here' to work. Undergoing training and finally being formally appointed allowed me to be an 'insider', and I was thus able to "provisionally suspend or significantly attenuate many differences" (Wacquant 2005: 450).

Getting to a point where I was 'myself' in the field, however, took time. Here I am problematizing the idea of being myself as advocated by Srinivas et al. (2002) because it assumes that there is a real self I needed to be, instead of multiple selves that I could enact truthfully. When I was initially attached to the idea of my 'real self'[22], I found 'myself' fighting my 'other selves'[23], or being confused as to who I 'really' was and who workers thought I 'really' was.[24] The self, I found, was fractured, relational and contingent (Pulcini 2006). Being

[22] A university student who was doing research and was overly cautions underground and wanted to work according to the standards I was taught at the training centre as opposed to tacit skills learnt at the rock face.
[23]My mineworker self who sometimes obsessed about production.
[24] Salzinger (2003) extensively reflects on her own identity confusion, the constant shifts, from being watched to being a watcher, to watching herself in action and reaction. She argues that these shifts were productive "every

'myself', therefore, was acknowledging that I was bound to and constituted through interactions and relations with other workers, not autonomous from them (Pulcini 2006; Kondo 1990; Pedersen 2006). Sometimes I was a student asking a lot of questions, writing down notes and learning from the workers. Other times I was a worker helping her crew meet production targets, and other times, I was a co-worker or a friend having a conversation with another co-worker or friend.[25]

Through my interactions I was being constituted. I was also a subject-in-the-making; a 'contaminated subject', not divorced from the workers I was studying (Pulcini 2006: 18; Kondo 1990). This enabled me to relate, to be 'destabilised', and at times get in their shoes, to empathise and see and feel the world from their perspective (Srinivas et al 2002). The less I was concerned with being my real self and the more I was concerned with being with workers, the more I relaxed around workers and them around me. This was useful since I was not only interested in how women understood themselves but also in their embodied experiences.

I also found that speaking Fanakalo at work, a language I had learnt in 2008 and brushed up on during 2011, worked to my advantage, especially with men. [26] With women I followed their lead and assessed what they were most comfortable with. Some spoke only Fanakalo and others mixed it with English while some preferred speaking in the local Setswana. [27]

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oscillation in my local role or social experience a new clue to the gendered configuration of production in a given factory (2003:5).

[25] See Kondo (1990) on her experiences and gender performances she enacted with her Japanese family, the neighbours and her co-workers. At home with her Japanese family, she adopted the role of a daughter and had to learn to carry out certain duties that are considered reasonable for a woman in Japan, such as preparing food for the family. She also had to abide by certain regulations with her Japanese "family".

[26] Fanakalo is also very close to isiXhosa, my home language, hence it was easy to 'catch-on'. In Chapter 3 I deal with the history of Fanakalo and its association with other South African languages.

[27] I do not speak Setswana fluently as a result I often mixed it with Fanakalo and English and the women were comfortable enough with my 'hybrids'.

Wacquant (2005: 466) elaborates on the usefulness of being completely immersed in the field and the centrality of the body as a tool in the process. He argues that, "if we are to understand meaning-making" we must, "enter the boxer's bodies, as they collectively learn" their trade (Wacquant 2005: 160). Wacquant asserts that we cannot simply be content with an interpretative deciphering of the boxers' words and deeds, for the "springs of their conduct" do not reside merely "out there" in the form of publicly available symbols and codes; they also dwell "in here", in the invisible schemata of cognition, cathexis and action through which they probe and construct the world about them. For Wacquant, therefore, to produce knowledge is to be involved; it is to get dirty and not to be distant and 'uncontaminated'. It means to be situated at the "point of production", to be acutely engrossed, and as durably as possible, into the cosmos under examination. To be completely immersed, for Wacquant (2005), means to submit ourselves to specific temporalities and contingencies and to acquire the embodied dispositions this process demands.

My involvement and participant observation in the mines started in 2008 when I conducted my MA research for almost three months. I returned in 2011 and 2012 for my PhD. In total I spent ten and a half months working underground between 2011 and 2012, thirteen including 2008. Staying in Rustenburg permanently allowed me to immerse myself in the local social activities on weekends, the heterosocial night life (Murphy 1997). On Saturdays I joined the women I worked with and their friends, usually childhood friends or cousins from the same villages as them. We went to local bars and met up with other mineworkers, usually male and in higher ranks than us. On Sundays it was a local tradition to go to car washes, meet other workers and have a small *braai* (barbeque). I also visited women in their homes some Sunday afternoons. Through these activities I was able to access the women in their homes and thus link productive

and reproductive space. My data was thus collected eclectically, from many sources and sites and at all times (Hannerz 2003).

I continued to visit the women, the mines and Rustenburg at different times in 2013 and in 2014 to visit the women, attend events, get updates and conduct interviews with management on surface. My last interviews in Rustenburg with the workers took place in August, 2014.

Spending this extended and extensive time allowed me to distinguish between exceptions and routines in women's everyday lives and it enabled me to juxtapose what they said with what they actually did (Burawoy 1991). Participant observation helped me explore my questions in depth and get at nuances and complexities, tensions and strains that women negotiate in the construction of gendered identities.

I chose participant observation as a primary method because much of the ways people approach subjectivities are not exclusively conscious or easy to articulate (Lande 2007). Conducting interviews alone would not have provided me with the richness the study required. Hence, I participated and observed the day-to-day practices (Silberschmidt 1999; Lande 2007). Like ethnomethodologists, I approached my study through everyday experiences, embodied practices, discourses and symbols, because the construction of gendered identities is difficult to study methodologically (De Almeida 1990). Through the day-to-day practices they can become easier and more accessible (Keesing & Keesing 1971). Participant observation provided me with a lens to get at the verbally inaccessible but observable practices, the contradictions, frustrations and confusions they deal with as they navigate underground as women. This method resulted in thick and rich descriptions that illuminated not only the

gendered practices but the production of gendered identities and underground habitus (Lande 2007).

In the field I had to be self-reflexive and aware of my own positionality (Bourdieu 1984); my biases, ignorances and prejudices were a painful process at times.[28] Burawoy (1991: 4) argues that the purpose of participant observation is not necessarily to strip oneself of biases nor to celebrate them, "but rather to discover and perhaps change" them "through interaction with others". This is what Joshi (2002) calls the "remoulding" of one by the other. It requires attachments and connections with others and is central if we are to shake off our own prejudices (class, location, education) and see beyond our socializations (Joshi 2002). When the prejudices are gone or one is aware of them, Joshi (2002) argues, it is only then that the researcher can truly see things from the subjects' perspective and work with them as one of them.

To access and shake off my own biases,[29] I held detailed reflective conversations with women mineworker friends I met in 2008, some of whom were now supervisors. These conversations helped me be aware of some of my biases and ignorant practices and they helped me work through them and even helped familiarise me with the 'acceptable' language for women and 'cultures' underground. Dividing my field work into two phases gave me the time to also reflect on these.

[28] See Alcoff and Potter's (2013) collection of essays called Feminist Epistemologies where there are critical reflections on standpoint epistemologies.
[29] Sitas 2004: 8-9 offers an incisive reflections on biases, the insertion of the "I" in different areas of writing. He locates his ideas within his work and experiences at specific moments in the history of South Africa and a particular area- KwaZulu Natal. He argues "I subscribed to some important biases: socio-political traditions that have been militant, community-sensitive, rooted in the country's labour movement and the grassroots cultural movements that were spawned during the intense period of resistance after 1976" (2004:9).

2.3 Life Histories

As already noted in the introduction, to complement and enrich data gathered from participant observations, I also employed life histories. Adams (1995) defines life histories as stories about someone's life. According to Connell (2005: 89) they "give a rich documentation of personal experience, ideology and subjectivity". They also document stories that cut-across different epochs, "that is to say life-history method always concerns the making of social life through time" (Connell 2005: 89). Life histories helped me understand the background of the women I worked with.

The life histories helped me get to their pasts: how and where they grew up, who raised them, their economic position, whether their primary caregivers were single or not, who provided for their families and whether that had any influence on their going to work in the mines. It also enabled my to understand what meanings they attached to their work and family lives. Other questions related to whether a respondent's mother/guardian worked outside the home and what she/he did. Did the respondent help out at home growing up, and how was household labour divided? I asked about their lives, their responsibilities and chores they engaged in. I tried to establish whether there were any linkages between their chores growing up and what they were doing at work, including the physical strength required to do the activities. I asked questions about education, marital status, whether they had children or not and what that meant. If they had children, did they live with them? If not where and who did they live with? Were they the main breadwinners or not and what were their future plans?

Most of these questions were explored in relation to their families and their broader communities. Life histories allowed me to get deep into the thoughts and feelings behind their

actions; they served as a window to the meanings they attached to their work. The life histories provided "rich evidence about impersonal and collective processes as well as about subjectivity" (Connell 2005: 89). They thus allowed me to move beyond individual subject positions or individualising epistemology to a broader context which positioned not only the individual as an epistemic agent, but also communities and communal histories as central sites (Longino 1993; Potter 1993). In doing this I got a glimpse of those around the women and their contexts (McLeod & Thomson, 2009). Some of the life histories I collected, therefore, revealed historic events such as growing up under the Mangope Government,[30] the 1994 elections and transition to democracy, which had an impact on both the individual and collective consciousness (Nash 1979). For life history conversations I used both English and my broken Setswana, what they called "*se senyegile"*(direct translation).

I used the data I gathered informally in the field to guide my life history conversations. Connell (2002: 47) asserts that how people make sense of themselves, how they construct their identities and relate to their bodies as gendered subjects with gendered identities is informed by historical symbolism. Incorporating history and narratives, therefore, gave me an insight into some of their actions, ideas and their socio-historical context. I conducted eight life history interviews, mainly on weekends when visiting the women in their homes. Most times family members also chipped in and participated in the conversations, at times even providing family albums and documents to corroborate events.

[30] Mangope was the leader of the Bophuthatswana Bantustan, an apartheid homeland for the setswana ethnic group.

2.4 Interviews

I also conducted interviews; these were both formal (non-standardized) and informal.[31] I mainly conducted interviews in workers' homes or while driving home after work. The informal interviews were in the form of conversations to get clarity or information about events or actions or things said or done. They were about their lives as fathers and mothers and friends and boy/girlfriends and as my co-workers. I tried to explore some of their social, historical and symbolic meanings attached to the underground space and home and also got the women to reflect on the meanings of the two spaces.

All of these proved very useful in contextualising life underground and around Rustenburg. Most underground conversations were in Fanakalo.[32] Very rarely did I speak English underground. I decided not to speak isiXhosa underground, my home language, even though some of my co-workers were native isiXhosa speakers. This was mainly because of internal divisions across ethnic lines. Speaking only Fanakalo presented me as neutral and most importantly as a 'real' mineworker; a woman who really wanted to learn mine work. It legitimised my claim that I was a mineworker. Even workers who were suspicious of me would let down their guard or begin to take me seriously after hearing me speak Fanakalo. Such was the power of Fanakalo underground. [33]

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[31] Most conversations took place while going to working places, or while waiting for the cage, during nights out with the women, while changing into our uniforms at the change house. It was not easy to have proper conversations inside the stope because of the noise from drilling or water pumps or compressed air.

[32] I first learnt Fanakalo in 2007 and again in 2008 while conducting research for my Honours and Masters, respectively. In 2011, before going to conduct my fieldwork, Katherine Joynt gave me a Fanakalo dictionary which I used to prepare for my fieldwork. With the dictionary I was able to practice and improve my vocabulary. My mother, who had worked with mineworkers in her youth, also gave me free 'lessons'. During her daily calls to check up on me she predominantly spoke Fanakalo or what little she could remember of it.

[33] *Fanakalo* is a pidgin language that is based on Nguni languages and Afrikaans (which has Dutch origins). See Chapter 3 and Chapter 7 on the significance of Fanakalo in mineworker identities. For the historical context and significance of Fanakalo see also Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) and for more contemporary meanings see

For male workers Fanakalo is more than a mere 'language of instruction'. It is an important part of their identity as mineworkers, as one of the ways to lay claim to collective identity. This was demonstrated in interviews I conducted after the August 2012 Marikana massacre. The massacre left not only 34 mineworkers dead, but led to brutal attacks and killings of community members by police and unknown people. Consequently, visitors were not always received kindly and community members were very suspicious. While friendships with the women helped open doors for me, with men it was the use of Fanakalo that helped. After introducing myself as a mineworker who is also a student conducting research almost instantaneously, to confirm if I really was a mineworker, I would be asked in Fanakalo, "*Wena yazi lo Fanakalo?*" (Do you know Fanakalo?). I always responded in Fanakalo to this question, "*Mina yazi yena, mina thetha yena futhi*" (Not only do I know it, I speak it). After my response I often received firm and affirming handshakes, as if to welcome me to "the club". Wives or female relatives would then be strongly encouraged to tell me everything. Cold drinks and tea offers would follow, symbolizing my acceptance and welcome in the home. Fanakalo, then, was not just a pidgin language or language of oppression for these workers (even though it has that history and they acknowledge it), but it was a reliable marker of who was an insider and who was an outsider.

Chinguno (2013; 2015) and Alexander et al (2012). In his 2013 article Chinguno writes about how Fanakalo is now used to distinguish between 'insiders' (Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union) and 'outsiders' (National Union of Mineworkers members) and Alexander et al (2012) recount how, during the Marikana strikes in 2012 it also symbolised friendship.

2.5 Focus Group Discussions

In addition to the interviews, I also held three formal focus group discussions and several informal focus group interviews. The informal focus group discussions were usually held underground with teams, usually on days when there were work stoppages, usually due to missing material or go slows resulting from bonus related grievances. The formal discussions were held on surface and lasted between 2 and 3.5 hours. I later transcribed the discussions and read and listened to them several times while coding them.

The aim of focus group interviews was to get women to reflect collectively on their experiences as mineworkers. Questions asked were largely informed by themes that emerged underground. They were not structured in any particular way and were not only directed by me. I brought up themes and stepped back after introducing each theme, and I allowed the women to direct the discussions. I only came in to seek clarity on matters or to introduce another theme. I employed this strategy because I realized that asking very deliberate questions and directing the discussion too closely introduced power dynamics I was seeking to avoid. One of the ways of working against power in research, Lahiri-Dutt (2011) argues, is to "involve the subjects" and allow them to drive conversations and discussion. To "work against" power, therefore, I stepped back as opposed to directing the discussions.

The formal focus group interviews were held on surface with eight to twelve women, mainly winch operators, pikininis, equipment helpers, battery and cage attendants, store issuers and engineering helpers. Women miners never came to any of them for several reasons. First, they were legally prohibited from leaving their stopes while workers were still inside working (see Shado's biography). Also, only legally appointed workers with blasting certificates, i.e. miners,

had the authority to do the mandatory early entry examination (checking the stope for dangerous gases and hazardous rocks) which precedes each shift. And at the end of a shift only miners could connect blasting cables. Other reasons had to do with competition between teams. Miners believed that a day or hours on surface to attend a focus group discussion would have a negative impact on their production targets as it would mean their teams would not blast. Lastly, it was identity reasons; all the women miners I worked with distanced themselves from femininity or anything that was exclusively organised in the name of women. They preferred one-on-one meetings, not 'womens' meetings' (Jorgenson 2002).

In addition to voice recording all focus group discussions, I also kept a notebook where I noted down actions that a voice recorder could not capture. What I found intriguing was that part of what constitutes a mineworker is not in words and cannot be verbally captured; it is in the actions, the coordinated bodily movements and gestures. When women described their first day underground, for instance, or how they changed between different spaces in mining, they often demonstrated with actions rather than verbal descriptions (more on this in Chapter 5).

Other tools I used to get data included diaries and photographs to broaden my understanding of women's lives (Lahiri-Dutt 2011; Plowman 2006, 2010; Symon 1998). Since most teams, regardless of their size, had one woman, it meant I could only work with one woman at a time. The use of diaries, therefore, enabled me to access other women on a continuous basis. I gave them to the women who showed interest in writing on a continuous basis after focus group discussions. They were kept by the women for a period of about three months and they used them to reflect as often as possible on any experiences, emotions or reflections they thought worthy of diarising. They were, therefore, open and flexible (Plowman 2010). Giving the women diaries kept an open door for me to continue dialogue after the focus group discussions.

I maintained regular contact with them at least once every fortnight, sometimes with a phone call or over whatsapp or blackberry messenger.[34]

The disadvantage was that towards the end of the diary project some of the writers felt that they had written and revealed too much about themselves and thus refused to share them with me. This was mainly the case with women I had difficulties contacting during the three month writing period. Sometimes clashing work schedules meant that their phones were off when I tried to contact them, especially those working night shifts or the pikininis. I got back 6 diaries in total. The material in the diaries ranged from health struggles, romantic relationships, family life, work expectations and inability to balance the two. I held informal follow-up sessions with women who wrote and returned diaries. In these follow up sessions I asked for clarity on issues that were unclear and handwriting I could not read.

The methods I used complemented each other in that life histories were concerned with the histories and context and the interviews sought to get at explanations, the why and how women understood themselves and experiences that informed these understandings. Finally, participant observation did what life histories and interviews could not do, it helped me observe women's actions, their daily ways of 'being' and 'doing' in the 'field'. It enabled me get a 'preview' of their embodied knowledge, knowledge that is difficult to articulate in words because it is taken for granted and done without mindfulness. Being an apprentice and participating in their daily work at the point of production, engaging my body as a tool, my physical and tactile experience with minework allowed me to immerse myself in their everyday

[34] For more on the diaries method see Symon 1998 and Plowman 2006; 2010.

world of work and, as a result, it enriched my data. During my last week with a crew I took the photographs which appear in this thesis.

Below I outline the fieldwork process; I sketch out the medical and heat tolerance screenings, the training, the experience of working underground and its challenges.

2.6 Fieldwork

Before starting to work I had to do a medical examination and heat tolerance screening (HTS).[35] HTS is mandatory for all underground workers. Since my study was divided into two phases, before commencing each phase I had to undergo HTS (Appendix A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6 & A7).

In brief, the HTS is a 30-minute physically strenuous exercise which takes place in a hot and humid chamber. The screening assesses whether an individual is fit enough to tolerate high temperatures and a humid environment while doing physically demanding work. "The chamber where HTS is conducted is carefully monitored thirty minutes before and during the test to ensure temperature stability" (Benya 2009a: 56). The wet bulb inside the chamber is kept at 28˚C with a margin of 0.3˚C, and the dry bulb is kept at 29.5˚C with a margin of 0.5˚C[36] and "the acceptable gap between dry and wet bulb is 1.5˚C" (Benya 2009a: 57). During the screening, participants climb up and down a 30cm step 24 times every minute for 30 minutes without stopping. In order to be certified as 'heat tolerant' one has to meet two basic criteria;

[35] At the medical examination they check blood pressure, weight, lung capacity, assess your breathing, urine test to see if women are pregnant, rib cage, ear test and eye test. For a detailed contemporary account of the Heat Tolerance Screening see Simango (2006) and Benya (2009). See more in Chapter 6.
[36] The wet bulb measures humidity while the dry bulb measures heat.

complete the full 30 minutes without pausing and body temperature at completion should not exceed 37.6˚C.

On both occasions I had to undergo the HTS twice because at completion my body temperature was higher than 37.6˚C. While failing the HTS was an emotionally and mentally tormenting experience, it also presented an opportunity to engage and relate with other women who had failed it several times and hear their coping strategies and the ways they "*planisa"*[37] when they had failed. Failing the HTS almost threatened my whole research project since I would not have been allowed underground without valid HTS certification. For women workers (new recruits), it threatens their jobs and livelihoods, and for those who have been in mining for long, their jobs underground and bonuses are at stake. I also did a medical examination and only then was I allowed to start training.

2.6.1 Training centre

Training centres are located underground. My training mainly focused on mining standards. The one I attended had over 500 trainees with a maximum of 15 women enrolled at any point in time. Consequently, during this period, most of my interactions with women were at the change house, at the waiting station and the cage. The shaft was 30 kilometres from my residence and all trainees had to be at the shaft at 4:30am which meant I had to be out of the house by 3:30. Most of the women I spoke with had to be out of their homes by 2am to catch

[37] According to Phakathi (2006) planisa was about manipulating and 'making a plan' with (limited) available resources usually by overlooking the formal health and safety standards. He describes it as 'getting on and getting by' underground through improvisations (Phakathi 2006:1; Phakathi 2006; 2012 and 2013).

the bus to town and from town catch a taxi to the hostel and at the hostel wait for the mine bus to the shaft.

While I was the training centre, all of the 32 instructors, moderators and assessors at the shaft were men, both underground and on surface. The only women working for the training centre were those doing administration. Classes underground are divided according to occupations and unit standards, both men and women are in the same classes. There is a theory and practical section for each class and each unit standard is taught over four to five days. Thereafter, workers are assessed. Each day starts with a theory class, followed by a practical or 'staging' session. While men and women are in the same class for each unit standard, there are striking and nuanced differences in the attention they get and the ways knowledge is transferred to men and women. As a result, women's experiences at the training centre are completely different from those of men, as I show in Chapter 6.

At the training centre I attended classes covering a range of underground unit standards which enabled me to work as both an equipment helper and a winch operator (see Appendix B1-B9). The training focused on generic underground induction, basic occupational health and safety practices, requirements for travelling underground, workplace hazard identification (entry procedure and risk assessment), harmful gas detection (how to read and use the detector), barring loose rocks safely, identification of and dealing with rock strata conditions, installing and operating a mono-rope, installing and removing pipes (water and compressed air) underground, installing and removing ventilation columns and accessories, extinguishing a fire underground, how to support an underground workplace using temporary support (mat packs, anchors placed into drilled holes and elongated hydraulically stressed sticks).

I was also trained on how to install a set of rails, a rail turn-out, and a stope grizzly in an underground workplace, how to assemble and maintain scraper cleaning equipment and rigging, remove broken (blasted) rocks using a winch, remove an accumulation of water from an ore pass, construct a concrete winch bed, how to drill holes underground using a hand held rock drilling machine, installing an underground ventilation control and a blocking barricade, construct and install a platform. In order to qualify as a winch operator I also had to learn how to charge (put explosives in) shot holes with primed explosives, install an initiating system used in blasting operations underground. I also learnt about different blasting products and their usage in an underground hard rock environment, how to time a blasting round or circuit on a face where shock tubes are used and how to treat and remove misfires. Finally I had to master winch operation and be able to sew the winch rope together when torn (I failed dismally at sewing the rope). The training alone took close to ten weeks including assessments.

While I initially resisted undergoing 'proper' training thinking it would take up my research time, as I show later, it proved key to understanding how a mineworker is 'made' and 'remade' and how gender is negotiated in the making and remaking process. It was also at the training centre that I had to interrogate my own identity, whether I was a trainee, a researcher or a worker in the making. Since I initially stood out like a sore thumb, workers also identified me in different ways.

I was later told that when I started they wondered whether I was a labour broker pretending to be learning, a doctor (they had heard one of surface managers asking me about my 'doctorate'), a safety inspector checking if workers observe safety standards or a vacation student. Explaining that I was not a mining engineering vacation student but a sociology student was always met with dismissive responses, or with, "Oh, geology student". My co-workers did not

seem interested in the specificity of my field; all they wanted to know was that I was a student, had been trained and appointed to operate the winch and that they were not going to get into trouble for letting me operate the winch. Wacquant (2005) also touches on similar experiences while trying to explain sociology and his research project to his boxing buddies in the Woodlawn Boys Club. Some introduced him "as a social worker, psychologist, interpreter, journalist... but nearly never as a sociologist" (Wacquant 2005: 450).

After a month and a half, one male worker came to me and said he could see that now I was getting used to mine life, that I was really *just* a vacation student. When I asked him what he meant he pointed that I was now walking over water puddles and not dodging them, I was also running to catch the cage instead of walking, I was no longer using my back pack to carry my water and lunch box, but I was putting them inside my overall. He also interestingly noted that the training centre instructors were no longer giving me attention, but had shifted to other women. He jokingly said I was *now* 'becoming' a mineworker because I had lost the favour of the instructors. Like them, I was "subjected to the rigors of the craft" and I was paying my dues (Wacquant 2005: 448).

2.6.2 Working underground

After successfully completing my training as a winch operator I was then appointed to work as one (Appendix B1 and Appendix C1 & C2).[38] I worked at three different shafts, different levels, gangs and sections underground as outlined in Chapter 4.

[38] While the employment of women as winch drivers is new in South Africa, in other countries, such as Russia, it has been a practice since the early 1900s. - Ilič (1996:1395) argues that in Russia women started working as winch drivers as early as February 1932.

To strengthen my findings I also worked as a general labourer (*malayisha*), lashing ore, installing support, water and compressed air pipes (See Appendix D, E & F). I also worked as a pikinini (an informal assistant) for two women miners and in my appointed role of a winch operator. The teams I worked with primarily mined platinum and chrome, some used conventional mining and others were mechanised. I worked in conventional mining. This decision was primarily informed by my previous time in mining (2008) where I found that workers in mechanised (trackless) mining did not experience the difficulties of those in conventional mining.[39] This is not to say mechanised mining is easier than conventional mining, but the challenges are different and women quickly adapt and are more readily accepted at the mechanised level than they are at the conventional.

I worked with a total of seven gangs.[40] I worked very closely with a total of six women and had many interactions with other women at the change house, the cage, in our level meetings, social outings and other events that the mine organised. In the last team I was the only woman. Our shifts usually started between 4:30am and 5:15am and usually lasted seven to eight hours. However, when I worked with Katlego, one of the most productive miners, our shifts sometimes lasted for over ten hours.

[39] The difference between conventional and mechanised / trackless mining methods is that conventional mining is a labour-intensive and slower method of accessing the orebody. In conventional mining a hand-held drilling machine is used. Mechanised mining on the other hand, as the name says, is a highly mechanised method of drilling and extracting ore from the rock, it uses trackless machines or equipment.

[40] I am not counting the gangs that I visited over several days which was once or twice a month, depending on our production targets and broken machines.

2.6.3 Fieldnotes

I worked mainly on day shifts[41] as a winch operator, both in the stopes where production takes place and in the line where most winches are located. While I was a winch operator, my responsibilities ranged depending on the worker I was paired with. In all crews I lashed and barred down loose rocks from hanging and side walls. I also cleaned, painted direction lines, pumped out water from the stopes, and installed support, pipes and temporary nets. I also operated the winch and connected blasting cables. Work was physically exhausting, making it difficult to write down very detailed notes during shifts or when I got home. Because of this, I also used a voice recorder to capture my daily experiences.

Scholars disagree on what constitutes fieldnotes. According to Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001: 354) they can include, "'headnotes', 'scratch notes', 'field-notes proper', 'fieldnote records', 'texts', 'journals and diaries' and 'letters, reports, paper'". Fieldnotes, Emerson, et al. (2001: 355) argue, are not simply 'facts' or accounts that reflect reality. Rather, they are "descriptive writing (which) embodies and reflects particular purposes and commitments, and it also involves active processes of interpretation and sense-making".

In my work the divide was not always clear. Initially I kept three journals; my work journal, a reflection journal and my personal journal. I discreetly used my work journal for notes underground, quotes and observations. My reflection journal was mainly a combination of detailed notes and reflections that I mainly captured at home. I used my personal journal to capture my own emotions, confusing moments and my general personal experiences.

[41] Two of the gangs I worked with were night-shift gangs: Shado's gang and Matikiti's gang.

A lot of the 'sense making' was mainly captured in my reflection journal. In this journal I captured events, experiences, reactions and conversations. Daily, before going to bed, I also voice recorded everything in as much detail as I could remember, both what I considered mundane and not so mundane. The descriptions started from when I woke up until I went back to sleep at night. These voice recording sessions usually lasted anywhere between an hour and a half to three hours daily. On the weekends I listened to the voice recordings and made notes before going out with the women.[42]

After a few months the divide between my reflection and personal journals became blurry. They 'collapsed' into each other and by the end of the research I no longer had a 'personal' journal; it had merged with the reflection journal. I no longer saw myself as 'autonomous', warranting a personal journal, but as a real worker who was one with the teams, whose experiences were shaped or influenced by the team, who was experiencing work in intrinsically relational ways (Pulcini 2006). I had 'surrendered' to the field and had been absorbed by it (Hannerz 2003; Wacquant 2004: 11). Kurt Wolf (1964), according to Wacquant (2004: 11) conceived of "the concept of 'surrender' in ethnography as implying total involvement (in which) a person's preconceived notions are suspended, everything is pertinent (which implies) identification (and) the risk of being hurt" (Wolf 1964 cited in Wacquant 2004: 11). With that recognition the 'personal' became field data, not separate but constitutive of the data. As I started to identify with work and with workers, I started seeing myself as part of the crews, my body was both a data collection instrument and an instrument through which I laboured and

[42] For more on participant observation and field notes see Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2001)

experienced the world of work. I had "settled down and forgotten about being a sociologist" (Goffman 1989 cited in Fine 1993).

Since I did not want to cause suspicion, I avoided taking notes in front of workers.[43] Sometimes, however, the workers invited me to write down what they were teaching me. This was more the case with workers who had worked with vacation students, learners and trainees. During my first few days, for example, Madala could not understand why I did not carry[44] a note book since I was a student, a learner. Ntate Ras who saw me as a "child from school in Johannesburg" usually told me to take down notes to "*fanelile wena bukisa lo tisha kawena kuthi thina fundisile wena lo into*" (show/prove to your teacher that we have taught you something). Some workers, therefore, expected me to write down notes. At times they insisted that I go look for paper and write down what they were about to teach me. Others would even proceed to the nearest place or person with paper and bring me a sheet of paper or tear a page from their own books to capture what they were about to say or demonstrate. They insisted that I write so that I do not forget. There was also a disjuncture between what they insisted I write down and what they did. For those moments the underground darkness allowed for a discreet disappearance to quickly write key words or quotes. A few times I was 'caught' writing in the darkness and in those cases workers who saw me writing down made remarks about me being a 'serious learner', something they wished for their children, instead of a nosy researcher.

[43] The excerpts in this thesis, therefore, symbolise what Fine (1993:278) describes as "approximations, signposts, and minidocudramas" of what workers said.
[44] I was hiding it from him so he thought that I did not have it at all.

2.6.4 Managing relationships

Being a young woman and a student meant that I had limited power in the field. Workers hardly wanted to please me. Instead, they expected me to follow all their instructions since they were my teachers. Being known as a student had its disadvantages. At times, in an attempt to "teach you everything before you go back to the University", I was sometimes given more work than I could handle and even removed from the woman I was meant to be working with and given tasks in other areas by myself. At such times I had to respectfully ask to be placed back with the workers, or at least near the workers, where I could still interact with or observe them. The power relations, however, were fluid and I managed them through relationships I had built with the older and experienced workers (Lahiri-Dutt 2011).

My level of engagement in some instances was purely naïve and driven by curiosity. After being sick for over two weeks with a stiff and extremely painful neck which prevented me from participating in some team work, I took what I later learnt was a potent homemade drug. Some of my co-workers had been insisting that the only way to heal my neck was to take their *muthi* (medicine). After days of hearing about how effective the *muthi* was for ailments such as what I had described, I caved in and tried it. For 30 or so minutes the drug completely knocked me out, my whole body was numb and all my muscles felt relaxed and pain-free. Alas, the pain returned as soon as the drug wore off and the offers for more *muthi* continued. Instead, my team leader and female co-worker took me to the mine hospital towards the end of our shift.

Since I sometimes worked with teams for as long as two months it meant that I was sometimes drawn into team conflicts. I had to engage some of the affairs. According to Srinivas et al. (2002: 6) the issue is not necessarily not to engage, but how far one should engage without

being “embroiled in factional conflicts” or alienating other groups or arousing “suspicion and distrust of others”. Depending on what the issue was, I either followed the woman I was working with or the most respected member of the team.

2.7 Challenges

> “Working in the mines is a painful thing. When you go down into the earth, you are not sure that you will come out alive. You don’t want to think about it…Suddenly you hear a noise like thunder. The ground shakes. The rocks fall around you. Men (and women) run in every direction. Then it all stops. The men (and women) come back. They look for the dead and injured miners. The miners who can scream get help first. The others lie under the rocks for a long time. After four days you find these men by the smell” (Badsha, Mendel, Weinberg, Harris & Odendaal 1989:111)

To be granted an ethics clearance by the University I had to get insurance for the whole duration of the research; covering death, permanent disability and medical expenses in case of a major accident. The process proved cumbersome but useful as I was soon reminded of the indiscrimatory ways in which rocks fall or winch ropes snap or scrapers can mistakenly scoop-out people alive.

Before being granted access I had to sign a contract where I pledged to follow the mine rules at all times or face prosecution if I was found to have participated in any wrongdoing underground. This seemed straight forward when I signed the papers, but when I started working underground I realized that there were obvious differences between what I was taught as Mine Standard at the training centre and routinized informal practices underground. At first

this presented me with a moral dilemma and I did not know whether to take a 'stand' or whether to adopt "moral relativism" (Srinivas et al. 2002: 10). Voicing my views as a newcomer, a student, would have had undesirable consequences and possibly led to alienation. In such instances, therefore, I had to subordinate my practices to those of the collective and learn anew (Srinivas et al. 2002: 12). Suspending judgement and adopting workers' practices helped me get at subjectivities and understand the rationale behind workers' actions or practices from their perspectives. It facilitated a process of understanding.

At times there were tensions underground that were rather difficult to navigate. Ethnic tensions and union rivalry where one had to state where one's loyalties were (Alexander 2012; Chinguno 2012, 2013) (See Appendix G for a Management Brief to this effect), but women were seen as oblivious and apolitical, a card I played to 'get on and get by' (Phakathi 2013).

2.7.1 Sexual harassment

Sexual harassment was a challenge on many levels: experiencing it, witnessing it, responding to it and being taken seriously when reporting it. Also, whether I should or should not report such incidents as an 'outsider/insider'. Most women responded by ignoring it and keeping quiet.[45] Hauser (2011: 629) also noted similar responses by women in the military. She argues that women are often caught between a rock and a hard place, knowing that staying silent empowers the abuser, but that reporting it leads to a hostile work environment.

[45] See Salzinger (2000; 2003) on sexual harassment in the Maquiladora shopfloor. Kenny (2004:497), referring to a different kind of harassment argues that workers, rather than negotiating or confronting their harassers, they detached or ignored the situation.

In my case it was not only the hostile work environment I was trying to avoid, but also a worker being fired on my account. I knew that my reporting sexual harassment was not going to be treated the same way by management (who were already worried) and desperately wanted to be seen as taking sexual harassment seriously. During my research a number of women at other mines (not where I worked) were raped and killed underground.[46] When I experienced sexual harassment I resolved to talking to the worker directly and reporting them to my miner or a trusted and respected co-worker (usually senior, a *madala*) and not to managers or following the formal route.

Definitions of sexual harassment underground also seemed more complicated than the categories or definitions I subscribed to. Sometimes what I thought was sexual harassment was not seen that way by the women it was directed at. I will elaborate more on this issue in Chapter 7. I must, however, state that while I witnessed and experienced sexual harassment often, it was never threatening to the point where I feared I would be raped or killed. At the mine (including all the shafts I worked at) there was never any reported incident of rape or killing of a woman underground, but there were fears amongst women, and management was vigilant.

[46] http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/02/14/female-miner-killed-underground First accessed 15 February 2015, http://www.enca.com/south-africa/murder-trial-highlights-plight-woman-miners accessed 10 February 2014 http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=9782 accessed 30 November 2014 http://www.num.org.za/News/tabid/91/entryid/160/-num-condemns-the-rape-of-a-female-mine-worker-at-thembelani-mine.aspx and http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/labour/2015/03/10/amplats-investigates-sexual-assault-of-female-employee Accessed 11 March 2015 http://www.miningreview.com/anglo-american-platinum-num-condemns-rape/ accessed 20 March 2015.

2.7.2 Exhaustion, accidents and death underground

When using participant observation one encounters a number of challenges related to the method. One of them was the work underground. It was physically exhausting. My day started as early as 3am or earlier depending on how far my shaft was, the time our cage was scheduled to descend and the time my shift started. Walks from the cage to the working place sometimes took close to 45 minutes and very rarely did we walk for less than 20 minutes to our stopes.

Due to production pressures, most days we arrived at work, had our breakfast and started working immediately after eating. The work was physically exhausting. We shovelled ore and barred down loose rocks for most part of the morning. This was followed by long, endless trips to the store rooms/stores (usually over a kilometre away) to collect material, equipment and explosives. After the trips to the stores we usually installed temporary or permanent support sticks from the head to the tail of the stope. Since the hand-held drilling machines used water, sometimes we had to drain out the water using a water pump and this often lasted until the end of the shift. Most days there was no time to rest. When I worked with one of the learner miners, however, the workload was less and we often rested, even napping at times.

Underground was also dangerous. I was reminded on several occasions that when rocks are about to fall, they fall on everyone; they do not distinguish between a student who is doing research and a worker. Accordingly, I witnessed several incidents of rock falls during the research phase, and I detail some of these in the chapters below. Several times our stopes either collapsed or huge rocks fell before our eyes. In one incident we were all sitting inside the stope discussing how we were going to support rocks which were threatening to fall. Within seconds two RDOs suggested that we get out immediately, there was hesitation until the two RDOs said

they could hear the rocks making a sound they only make when about to fall. Needless to say we all jumped out, a few seconds later there was a Fall of Ground (FoG). There were several incidents like this one or where workers were injured, legs broken, fingers cut off or where someone was even killed. These incidents were quite traumatic and emotionally exhausting.

While doing my research over five workers died underground and one of them had been my colleague. He died at home after taking medicine that was 'too strong for him' to cure a stomach ache that had been bothering him for months and slowed down his pace at work.

Perhaps not on the same measure, but exhausting and heart wrenching nonetheless, was missing a production target after drilling and blasting for the whole month. Working (unremunerated) over-time and not reaching production targets or having your measurements disputed had material consequences and it also emotionally scars crews. Workers who miss targets after exerting themselves are often ridiculed and their masculinity 'mocked' by their peers. Watching workers trying to grapple with how they missed targets after drilling daily was heart wrenching. Workers would sometimes be in tears trying to figure out how they were going to explain not having enough money to their children who had to pay for upcoming school trips or register for new semesters at college. Teams would sometimes need a day to recover from the disappointment and start afresh, repeat the same cycle, take more risks and chase the next month's targets. At such moments workers expressed, often with deep sorrow, how they worked so hard yet never saw the rewards while their supervisors and managers, "who sit in air-conditioned offices and doing *fokol* (nothing)" were changing cars every year. They, especially rock drill operators,[47] talked about being central in production, yet being treated as

[47] See Stewart 2012

peripheral and disposable 'things'. Workers' reflections on the work that they do, on the sacrifices they make, and their daily experiences which were marked by constant struggle to make ends meet or access basic care, often distressed everyone.

2.7.3 The Marikana Massacre

Possibilities of death, accidents and injuries, rape, sexual harassment, heat exhaustion were realities, and feelings of exploitation and not getting a share of the wealth that workers felt they produced were common in conversations. The discontent of the workers in the platinum sector was brought to bear when workers from different mines organised and went on several strikes in 2012. Workers had very clear demands in these strikes. In some mines they wanted R9500 after deductions and in other mines they wanted R12 500, later it was R16 000.

These strikes shook the industry and brought it to its knees as production stopped in some (platinum) mines. What followed, however, what we have come to know as the Marikana massacre, shook the very core of the country and the ideals that South Africa had come to define itself by. During the Marikana massacre 34 mineworkers were killed by police while gathering on a hill outside the mine gates, demanding a living wage of R12 500 (Alexander et al 2012; Alexander 2013; Chinguno 2013, 2015, Desai 2014).[48] About 78 more were seriously injured and about 270 workers were arrested, tortured and, under an apartheid era law, charged with murdering their co-workers. This happened less than 20 kilometres from our shaft, while my team and I were underground, finishing off drilling and charging holes with explosives.

[48] Desai 2014 can be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EQvTVQAQSVA . It is an International Emmy award winning documentary "Miners Shotdown" which details the Marikana massacre.

Some of my co-workers had siblings working at the mine where the strike and the massacre took place. This became more of a reality the following day when some of them did not arrive at work because they had gone to look for their fathers, siblings and homeboys. This was an emotionally raw day in the mine where sadness engulfed the shaft. The cage seemed slower that day, the mood quiet and sombre. Now and again workers asked each other if so-and-so had been seen, or if he went to Marikana to look for his brother. Responses were short and voices low, "he left yesterday as soon as we got to the hostel and hasn't been back since" or "he was still at the hospital checking if his father was amongst the injured" or "he was told to go to the morgue to identify the body and won't be coming in today".

Everyone was affected and rather than bracketing my emotions or keeping an emotional distance from the workers, I had to engage. For Patricia Hill Collins (2000: 265), to have emotions in research indicates validity and credibility. The fact that everyone seemed to know someone in Marikana (or someone who knew someone), except for me, brought home privileges that I had not reflected on until that moment. It also complicated what I had come to believe about myself as one of them (or as close enough) and exposed the limitations around the notion that I was one of them, and the distance that could not be erased by my close relationships at an individual and macro level.[49]

The massacre was a moment of methodological and identity rupture for me (as a 'citizen' and as a researcher) and called for a different level, and different way of reflecting about what it

[49] See Ahmed (1998) Chapter 5 on auto/ethno/graphies where she reflects on this idea of proximity and closeness and accompanying limitations.

really means to be ‘one’ with the workers or to do public sociology in post-apartheid South Africa (Burawoy 2004, 2005). Marikana was a turning point (Alexander 2013; Alexander et al 2012; Gumede 2012) on many levels; for the country, for mineworkers, and for myself doing research and how I understood my position and role, whether I would leave and go to a “safer” place (the university) or stay in the mines and make a contribution, no matter how small or insignificant. It was a destabilizing moment. As an ethnographer and as a mineworker, it was essential to be on the ground; but as an actor or participant, both in the mining and South African “public”, I had a responsibility to be present and contribute.

Maintaining a distance, or being detached, as positivists advocate (Chakravarti 2002), was not a possible or morally available option. Ethnography, by definition demands that one is fully immersed in the lives of those being studied (Emerson 2001; Salzinger 2003; Ngai 2005). It seemed to me that to detach at that moment would have been to work against the very logic of what constitutes participant observation.

Srinivas et al. (2002: 8) argues that one should not be concerned with detachment, but rather be concerned with the “degree of involvement” and “degree of attachment”. He imagines detachment and attachment as operating on a continuum where the researcher does not necessarily have to be either or, but can negotiate levels of each according to the specific matter at hand. Burawoy (1991: 4) “advocate(s) neither distance nor immersion but dialogue”, and calls for open interaction. The dialogue happens in two ways: it is the dialogue between the participant and the observer and also between theory and data which then leads to explanations and more interrogation (Burawoy 1991). In the case of Marikana this dialogue continues.

Being attached to my co-workers did not necessarily cloud or compromise my objectivity (Unni 2002). For Bourdieu (1984), objectivity is not necessarily a product of being detached, but is borne out of reflexivity by the researcher and critical awareness of their habitus, and the social realities of their field. While I fully immersed in, or attached myself to the field, I bring to this thesis the analytical tools I have acquired and skills I have learnt in the past few years, and I deploy scholarly methodological techniques (Nadar 2014, 2009) in analysing the data.

I constantly reflected on my position[50] (Nadar 2014: 26), my habitus (Bourdieu 1994), both during fieldwork and throughout the analysis and writing phase. I demonstrate this reflexivity throughout the thesis by bringing in my own experiences. According to Nadar (2014: 26), to be "reflexive means that one recognises that the process of research is as important as the product". My experiences as a mineworker are brought in as data, not detached from the data. My aim is "not to construct a narrative of the self" (Denzin 1996 cited in Wacquant 2005: 469), but to enrich the description and analysis I provide. I, therefore, critically and strategically "insert the 'I' back into research" (Nadar 2014: 26). That means I self-consciously reflect on and interrogate my positionality throughout this thesis, "at all levels- from the social and personal to the intellectual and political" (Nnaemeka 2003: 361).

[50] This is not to say I occupied one position, quite the contrary. I occupied multiple positions and I critically and reflexively engage with these positions; whether as a University research student who has been trained in certain pedagogies, or a mineworker, or as a black woman who has had relatives (in the broad sense of an extended family) and neighbours who worked in the mines. See Gasa (2007a) on how these multiple positions for African women scholars can be useful analytical resources to draw upon and offer a nuanced reading of the conditions and people we study.

2.8 Sampling

I did not have a typical or strict field separate from or external to the world I lived in. My field was the world I lived in, where I worked and the social events I attended. It was everywhere (Srinivas et al. 2002; Lahiri-Dutt 2011). It was in every place where "reality-constituting interactions" occurred (Emerson et al 2001: 354). The boundaries of my field were, therefore, porous.

Regarding work teams, I chose to work with teams that had women winch operators and women miners, except the last team where I was the only and first woman. I chose winch operators and miners because it seemed to be in the typically masculine occupations that gender negotiation by women were more deliberate.

While my main focus was on women, because of the small percentage of women underground, I could not over sample them. Quantitatively I spoke with more men than women, but qualitatively I spent more time and went into more detail with women. This was purely because of the way teams were organised; where each team has only one woman and between six and twelve men. To understand women in mining it was crucial to also integrate and engage men much more directly and not treat them as peripheral subjects. It became clear that women's views alone were not going to help me understand how mining worked. They could only take me to a certain point, after which I had to rely on interactions and observations which included men as much as they did women. A number of questions I needed to answer involved men, or at least involved understanding men.

Focus group discussions were only held with women. Women who participated in the focus group discussion were selected by the administrators. Since women miners could not, and did not want to, participate in my "school assignment" or "women's meetings", I managed to talk to them when I worked with them and when hanging out on weekends and when visiting their families.

My shaft choices were mainly informed by what workers at the training centre recommended when I told them I wanted to work with women. They usually gave multiple recommendations with reasons why certain shafts were better than others. The training centre, which had workers from all shafts seemed like a perfect ground to meet workers who then told me about their different shafts and why they were better sites to work at than others in relation to my interest in women. This proved extremely valuable as I started to pick up trends in what workers, both men and women, thought would add value to my study. From their recommendations and reasons three shafts were selected.

The first shaft was where the training centre was based. Workers recommended it because most women who worked at it were born and bred in the nearby villages and lived with their families. This shaft, Shaft D on Tables 7 and 8, had 973 workers: 60 women and 913 men. It was one of the smaller and possibly oldest shafts. Since Shaft D also served as a training centre for all other shafts it meant that lots of workers from different shafts visited it. For instance, there were usually over 500 at the training centre. This helped me meet and start conversations with workers from across different shafts, both men and women before even going to work in their shafts. As a result, when I went to work at other shafts I already knew a number of workers or

was at least familiar with many faces. At Shaft D I worked closely with two women, Maria and Zodwa,[51] both winch operators.

Shaft K had a total of 3783 workers, 288 of them were women and 3495 were men. Women working at Shaft K were mainly young and were also known to be the most beautiful and fashionable in the entire mine. In my time there, the shaft was relatively new and was known as the most productive platinum shaft in the world. I spent more time in this shaft than any other, working with both day and night shift gangs. I worked with Tshire, a learner miner, then Tee, a winch operator and finally Shado, a miner. The first two women worked in day shifts and Shado was a night shift miner. They were all at different levels underground; Tshire's section for instance was almost 1.7 km underground, while Tee and Shado were about 1.4 kilometers below surface. While working with Shado, for a week when her gang was not working[52], we 'visited' a stope next to hers where I worked with Miss Bang-bang, a team leader.

The third shaft was selected because it had the most productive female miners, "more productive than some male workers who have worked in mining all their lives" said one training manager. Shaft A had 3841 workers with 312 women and 3529 men. At Shaft A, I mainly worked with Katlego, a miner, and I spent my last weeks working in a crew where I was the only woman.

[51] I use pseudonyms throughout the thesis.
[52] Drilling had been halted in Shado's section because of unstable rocks, what they call triplets. The mining engineers, rock engineers and geologists were studying the rock structure to advise the team. Workers were still expected to clock in and go underground despite not having anything to do underground.

Other women I refer to below were in my social circles at work and others were part of the focus groups, or were associates of my co-workers or from the same villages as them, and I got to know them. In other cases it was women I travelled to or from work with. I met others at the training centre or at the HTS and at the medical examination and kept contact with them.

2.9 Access

The mine where I conducted my research very graciously gave me access to all their shafts, unreservedly. And after training I was granted permission to work wherever I wanted for however long I wanted to work. I was also offered lodging for the entire duration of my research project. Before visiting a shaft I had to inform one of the senior trainers who made all the necessary arrangements and relevant introductions to facilitate my access for each shaft. Mine management knew about my work and allowed it. They usually forgot about it after a few weeks and only remembered, often surprised, when I went to announce my departure and when requesting being linked with reliable people in other shafts.

Negotiating entry, however, I soon learned was multifaceted; it was official and unofficial. While access from mine managers gave me official access to the shafts, in gangs and sometimes in levels[53], I still had to negotiate access. As a new woman, a minority in all spaces underground, I stood out and at safety level meetings, workers often demanded that I introduce myself and explain to them what my job was underground and which team I was working with. It was after introductions, in Fanakalo, and answering all their questions that workers relaxed

[53] What is known as a level underground is what we call a 'floor' on surface. In each level there were usually over 15 gangs and over 200 workers.

around me. After the Marikana massacre suspicions were high and workers wanted to know insiders and outsiders. As a result I was scrutinised more during the introductory sessions. Having met some of the workers at the training centre at the beginning of the research became a source of legitimizing my presence.

Spaces outside work were mainly public spaces and I did not need permission to enter them, only connections. My friendships with the women helped me navigate these spaces; at local bars or car washes, I went as a friend and colleague. Wacquant (2005: 450, 2004) elaborates on friendships, or what he calls "deep engagements with one's subjects" and their role while conducting fieldwork, which often goes beyond the fieldwork period. In their homes I was welcomed as a friend who is doing research on women in mining, not as a researcher. After several visits, however, I was simply seen and welcomed as a friend.

To be allowed by the University to collect data and work underground, the ethics committee insisted that I get insurance, which was made possible by the Sociology Department at Wits University and my primary funders, the International Centre for Decent Work and Development (ICDD).

2.10 Ethics

My research was approved by the Wits Ethics Committee. I followed an ethical guideline both in the collection of data and in the way in which I have written up the thesis. Part of being ethical in this study has also meant that I move the perspectives of women mineworkers from the margins to the centre (Choo & Ferree 2010) and rely on their words.

Before conducting interviews and focus group discussions I advised all my respondents of their right to decline participating in the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001) or to refuse answering any questions they might deem intrusive, inappropriate or uncomfortable. Care was taken, however, not to put the respondents in such a position. I openly tested some of the questions with friends who were mineworkers. I explained fully to the respondents that they were free to withdraw at any stage, even after the interview and allowed them to ask questions and voice any concerns they had prior, during and after interviews.

During informal conversations it was impractical to get prior consent from everyone (Murphy & Dingwall 2001), especially those who joined the conversations later or if I joined the conversations later. All workers whose words appear in the thesis, I have asked for permission and was granted consent. I have also done my absolute best to conceal identities, hence I use pseudonyms throughout the thesis. Prior to all focus group discussions, formal interviews, life history interviews and voice recording I asked for consent to conduct interviews and to use a voice recorder through a participant letter (Appendix H & I). Included in these letters was a brief description of the study, its aims and objectives. I have done my utmost best to protect all the women and men I worked with and interviewed, to respect their privacy and ensure anonymity. Deception was avoided and I observed the highest ethical standards.

2.11 Conclusion

In this thesis I attempt to capture, in a sociologically reflexive and analytical way using theoretical lenses, the human story of women who toil underground in some of the platinum mines in South Africa. The narratives and descriptions are from my formal and informal interviews, focus group discussions, observations and participation in the daily lives of workers.

In as much as possible, I try to remain true to the feel of events and practices underground. That means at times, through the narrations, I go back underground, walk the reader through the dark alleys, pull the winch rope and go down a cage with them. Through the extracts, therefore, I try to "enfold the reader into the microcosm" of the underground or mining world in ways similar to how workers are also drawn and "sucked and cocooned within it" (Wacquant 2005: 464).

Chapter 3: Literature Review and Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I outlined how I collected data and how I present it in this thesis. I showed how a triangulation of life histories, formal and informal interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation provided me with multiple lenses to get at women mineworkers' subjectivities (Lichterman 2002). This chapter picks up from that point and localises the questions I raise within certain bodies of literature and theoretical approaches. I review literature which helps me analyse gender identity construction.

I first do a brief review of mining literature through a gendered lens to get a sense of the position of women in mining. In the historiography of mining, women hardly feature as workers in their own right. On the main, their contribution in mining is neglected or downgraded to the periphery, leading to portrayals of women as outsiders or assistants. The examination of mining history enables me to demonstrate how the industry and its culture, mine workers, and mine work have all been conceived in masculine and male terms to the neglect of women and their contribution. Secondly, I show how recent studies by women scholars and feminists from different fields have contested the peripheral position of women in mining studies. They recover women's voices, re-centre their role and attest to their presence in mining, dating back to the early fifteenth century up to the present moment (Gier & Mercier 2006; Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre 2006; McCulloch 2010). While these studies are an important contribution, there are questions and assumptions about gender identity construction that they do not address or explore indepth. To address this gap I draw on broader organisational study's literature where there is a plethora of studies which examine gendered identity construction in other fields. Thirdly, I theoretically frame my study by drawing from various approaches that allow me to

analytically centre the body, spaces and performativity in understanding the construction of gendered identity by women mine workers.

3.2 A gendered account of the history of mining

Popular culture and academic work on mining tends to be underpinned and informed by masculinism and reflects a masculine bias (Mercier & Gier 2009; Burke 2006: 43, see Coleman 1943; Dange 1945; Gouldner 1954; Dennis et al 1956; Douglass 1972; Warwick and Littlejohn 1992). Southern Africa mining studies, and South Africa in particular, have tended to reflect a masculine focus covering issues such as the labour process, reliance on migrant labour and exploitation of black migrant workers, single sex hostels and cheap labour (Wilson 1972; Van Onselen, 1976; Gordon, 1978; Callinicos, 1980; Brown 1983; Crush, Jeeves and Yudelman, 1991; Crush & James 1991; Crush 1994; Jeeves & Crush 1992) ethnic and workplace violence (Hunter, 1992; James 1992; Moodie 1992, 1994, 2005; Moodie and Ndatshe 1992; 1994; Breckenridge 1998), unionisation- or lack thereof- (Allen 1992; 2003a and 2003b; Moodie 2013 Mantashe 2009), contractors such as WENELA and later TEBA (Alverson 1978; Moodie 1994; Mantashe 1995; Crush et al 2001) and tacit knowledge of mineworkers (Leger and Mothibeli 1988; Leger 1992), with very little done on women in mining.

Issues that have dominated post-apartheid mining scholarship continue to reflect a masculine lens of inquiry, highlighing issues such as: masculine identities, low wages for male breadwinners, diminishing gold deposits and resulting retrenchments and the impact of these on union membership and union strategies, health and safety (Moodie 1991; Breckenridge 1998; Crush, Ulicki, Tseane & Van Veuren 2001; Webster & Omar 2003; Phakathi 2011;

2012). These issues are examined with an image of a male mineworker in mind whereby the very definitions reflect this image (Webster et al 1999; Phakathi 2011; 2012). [54]

Most recently, there has also been a focus on subcontracting, illegal, artisanal and small scale mining, the environmental and social impact of mining, new forms of control, changes in accommodation and 'new' labour geographies and the involvement of traditional authorities (Kenny & Bezuidenhout 1999; Hamann, 2004; Hamann & Bezuidenhout 2007; Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu 2010, Capps 2010; 2012; Mnwana & Capps 2015).[55] Other studies have tended to examine the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases in relation to the mining industry (Banda, 2010; Williams et al, 2003; Campbell, 1997; Crisp 1996). After the Marikana massacre, there has been a reinvigoration of a focus on violence in mining, labour fragmentation and the failures of institutionalisation as an antidote for industrial conflict (Chinguno 2012; 2013; 2015 and Alexander et al 2012, Alexander 2013).[56] In all of these, masculinism has dominated and femininity and female bodies excluded from the narrative.

3.2.1 Workers are Male and Occupational Culture masculine

The domination of mining literature by masculinism and maleness is captured further by Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre (2006:1) who argue that in mining literature "people in the 'pit' are almost

[54] See for example the Mine Health and Safety Act of 1996 and the Chamber of Mines Health and Safety document which does not touch health issues that exclusively affect women http://www.chamberofmines.org.za/work/health-and-safety

[55] See also Moodie and Ndatshe 1994; Nattrass 1995; Van Veuren 1997; Breckenridge 1998; Webster et al 1999; 2002; Malherbe 2000; Crush et al 2001; Bezuidenhout 2006; Sikakane 2003; Nite and Stewart 2012; Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout 2011; Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu 2011; Mantashe 2009; Webster and Buhlungu 2004; Buhlungu 2003; Buhlungu 2001; Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu 2006; Phakathi 2000; 2009; 2010; 2012; 2013; Webster 2002; Webster et al 2002; Stewart 2012; 2013.

[56] See Review of African Political Economy Vol 42, Iss 146, 2015, Special Issue: White gold: new class and community struggles on the South African platinum belt

always seen as being ‘pit men’ as though pits are, and always have been, inhabited by men” (see also Blomberg (2006). This is despite the fact that women, from as early as the 1600s have also been ‘pit people’(evidence is in Agricola 1556; Munby diaries 1828-1910; John 1980; Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre, 2006; Gier & Mercier, 2006; McCulloch 2010).

In the South African case the constructions of mine workers as male included workers in occupations that were considered feminine, such as nurses, administrators and cooks. Breckenridge (1998) argues that only three out of a dozen hospitals and clinics servicing the mines had female nurses. Data from the 1927 survey of the gold mines shows that, out of a labour force of well over a 100,000 men, only 2750 were women and children. Mines in South Africa from their inception, were “a world without women” a world where men, and by extension masculinity, ruled (Breckenridge 1998: 975). These mines explicitly preferred male workers (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994; Breckenridge 1998; Alexander 2007; Alverson 1978). This was reinforced by depicting the mines and mine life as physically demanding, the conditions as inconceivably hot, humid and not suitable for the fragile female bodies, and the place as dangerous where only “strong” men could survive (Gouldner 1954; Dennis et al 1956; Moodie and Ndatshe 1994; Webster et al 1999; Phakathi 2006, 2012, 2013; Stewart 2013). In these studies mine culture was depicted and characterised as thriving on collective disregard for dangers and discomforts, valorising risk taking behaviour, putting themselves in harm’s way, tacit knowledge (which is transferred through gendered networks), racial and gender solidarity and male camaraderie (Webster *et al*., 1999; Connell 2005; 2007; Phakathi 2002). The solidarity, according to Gouldner (1954) and Moodie (1994), was a result of the high levels of danger that (male) workers contended with daily. Female bodies therefore were absent in most scholarship.

With minimal to no presence of women in the mines, mine culture has been depicted as quintessentially masculine (Gouldner 1954; Webster et al, 1999). Lahiri-Dutt (2006:166) broadly defines mining occupational culture as "the widely shared and deeply held systems of values, beliefs and norms". These beliefs and practices are developed and normalised by workers in order to meet and cope with the demands of their particular occupations (Webster *et al.* 1999:21). The culture, which is located in South Africa's colonial and apartheid history (Reskin & Padavic 1994), has been understood as enabling particular formations of male solidarity and masculine identities (Moodie 1994). This too has led to a normalisation of masculinity and male bodies and construction of femaleness as non-standard. For Lahiri-Dutt (2006:165) the masculine constructions of mine work and culture have "enabled men to assert a specific form of cultural masculinity".

Alexander (2007) gives reasons as to why the mines were 'a world without women'. He argues that the historical trajectory of mining in South Africa was informed by Victorian attitudes of the British colonisers, apartheid legislation, which restricted movement of and residency for Africans, the mechanisation levels of South African mines, the type of minerals mined and deep level mining which required a trained workforce, which according to the Mine and Works Act No. 25 of 1926's restrictions, could only be white men, the geographical location of mines and the migrant labour system all guaranteed the exclusion of women (Alexander 2007; 2013; see also Wilson 1972; Burawoy 1976; Alverson 1978; Moodie 1994, 1992, 1988; Wolpe 1972, 1990; Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu 2010).[57] Furthermore, "women, rather than men, were largely responsible for agricultural production, making it more difficult for them to be freed to engage

[57] The 1911 Mines and Works Act No. 12 and the South African Minerals Act of 1991 for instance had racially prohibitive pass laws (which ensure that husbands did not bring their wives to towns and also housing of mineworkers in single sex hostels with strict controls of entry and exit Moodie 1994), the job reservation policies which ensured that jobs and competency certificates were only issues to white males only.

in wage labour far from home" (Alexander 2007: 214; Wolpe 1972).[58] Other mining scholars also point to myths, superstitions and cultural beliefs that were used to legitimise the absence of women from the gold and diamond mines (Moodie and Ndatshe 1994; Machipisa 1999; Ralushai 2003; Mercier & Gier 2009; Macintyre 2006; Lahiri-Dutt 2006; McCulloch 2010; Addei & Amankwah, 2011). [59]

Additionally, unlike many places where the legislative bans were lifted during war periods and re-instated upon soldiers' return, in South Africa, with the reserve army of labour from the homelands and from other countries in southern Africa, mining remained mainly masculine (Legassick & Wolpe 1976; Wolpe 1972; Moodie 1991; 1994, Morrell 1998; Alexander 2007). As recent as 1991, another law, the South African Minerals Act of 1991, reinforced the exclusion of women in mining (Simango, 2006; Alexander, 2007). The ways in which this mining masculinity was conceived in South African mines will be dealt with in the section below on masculinities.

With mineworkers imagined as men, minework as requiring masculine strength, work conceived as appropriate for male bodies and mine culture depicted as masculine, what emerges in the reviewed studies is a gross neglect and marginalisation of women (how ever few they were). What also strikes one in the literature is a naturalisation and invisibilisation of the conflation of the mines and masculinity. It is this conflation that disguises how the gendering process in the mines takes place.

[58] While this argument about gender and reproduction is often generalised to all ethnic groups in South Africa, it was no so. Bozzoli (1983) provides evidence in the "Boer society" where "young girls have been the first to leave the rural area; while in others whole families have left from the very beginning" (Bozzoli 1983: 143).
[59] Some workers believed that the presence of women underground could lead to fall of ground, or seismic events, or even cause the minerals to disappear (Van Hoecke 2006; Caballero 2006).

3.2.2 Recognising and reclaiming the history of women in mining

Very few studies depart from the trend noted above which has largely silenced women and neglected their contribution. As a way of positioning my study, below I demonstrate the ways in which women have been incorporated in mining literature both in South Africa and globally and where the gaps remain.

Feminist scholars from around the globe and also Southern Africa who come from a range of disciplines in an attempt to re-insert women in mining have resurrected women's bodies and their presence in mining and have challenged the dominant narratives which excludes them (John 1980; Murray 1981; Gordon 1981; Chauncey 1981; Parpart 1986; Krikler 1996; Dandule 2012; Diaz 2006 Akurang-Parry 2006; Hoecke, 2006; Bocangel 2001; Nash, 1979; Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre 2006; Mercier & Gier 2009).

These studies collectively recover and make visible and audible women's voices, faces and contributions as agents. They seek to connect women's stories across developing and the developed countries, small scale and large scale mines, in communal and cooperative mining arrangements, legally and illegally, in formal and in informal mines, historically and in the present, and in various metalliferous and coal mines. (Nash 1979); John 1980; Bocangel 2001; Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre 2006; Mercier & Gier 2009; 2007; Diaz 2006; Yoshida and Miyauchi 2006; Kaur 2006; Sinha 2006; Smith 2006; Sone 2006; Burke 2006).

In these studies women are sometimes visible as slaves such as in India collieries pre-and during colonialism (Lahiri-Dutt 2006), as royal slaves (with agency) in Cuban copper mines

(Diaz 2006) or female runaway slaves and offending citizens in Brazil (Godfrey 1992; Graulau 2006)[60] or activists in Ghanaian gold mines as early 1870s (Akurang-Parry 2006; Mercier & Gier 2009; Gier & Mercier 2006). Others are 'recovered' as part of family labour, as sole prospectors or a combination of both at different times, (Nash, 1979; Bocangel 2001; Caballero, 2006 and Chaloping-March, 2006). Sometimes they appear as widows of coal miners or as wives who raise children, do reproductive work, organise and stage labour protests or as widows of miners or as nurses who are called in when there is a serious injury underground (Gordon 1977; Murray 1981; Gordon 1981; Chauncey 1981; Krieger 1983; Parpart 1986; Ridley and Wilhelm 1988; Hinton et al 2006; Dandule 2012). In others studies they are recovered as surface workers, what John (1980) calls 'pit brow lasses', or extracting alluvial minerals from rivers or deep underground as independent workers or as part of family teams doing the same jobs as men[61] (Burke 2006; Nash 1979; John 1980; Sone 2006; Kaur 2006; Sinha 2006; Crispin 2006).

This recognition in South Africa is also done by Moodie (1988; 1994). In his seminal work, "Going for Gold" he demonstrates that there were women around the mines. His work mentions women as country wives or town women who operated shebeens (saloons), brewing and selling beer; or were sexual partners of male workers, urban mistresses (ishweshwe), sex workers (oonongogo), lovers (izithandwa or amadikazi) or tricksters who took the money of

[60] See Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre 2006; Mercier & Gier 2009; Gier & Mercier 2006 for a comprehensive list which covers all continents with evidence of women who worked in mining, from the United States, Canada, India, Papua New Guinea, Japan, Ghana, Cuba, Brazil, United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, Bolivia, Philippines, and Indonesia.

[61] In some countries the involvement of women (and children) in mining continued even after it was banned. This is because there was hardly any inspections of mines (Chaloping-March, 2006; Alexander, 2007 and Caballero, 2006). Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre, 2006; Burke 2006; Smith 2006, Sinha, 2006; Alexander 2007 and Sone, 2006 also provide us with evidence that sometimes women did the heavier work while men supervised.

unsuspecting and recently recruited male workers (Moodie with Ndatshe and Sibuye 1988, see also Bonner 1990; Moodie with Ndatshe 1992; Moodie with Ndatshe 1994 a, d; AIM 1976).

While Moodie (1994) makes significant contributions in recognising women around the mines and argues that women are "essential to the men's formation of self" (Moodie 1994:3), he still does not address their presence inside the mines (not necessarily underground since they were not yet working underground) as cooks, nurses and as cleaners despite evidence which points to their presence (Krieger 1983; Breckenridge 1998; Nite and Stewart 2012) especially from 1975-76 onwards when Mozambican and Malawian labour was withdrawn from South African mines (Nite 2015).[62] Moodie (1994), his contemporaries and those before him tend to treat women in mining as mere appendages to mining scholarship or depict them as the "other" and not as independent workers with agency.

McCulloch's (2003; 2010 see also Nite 2015; Nite & Stewart 2012) historical work breaks this relegation of women to the household or a distant homeland. While women's employment in South African mines was prohibited by law, McCulloch (2010:413) notes that in asbestos mines women made up to half the workforce from the 1890s "until the industry's twilight in the 1980s". They remained invisible, however, due to the absence of written contracts and the fact that the "female wage was subsumed into the male wage" (McCulloch 2010:418). Later on, asbestos mines, he argues, under the Mines and Works Act no. 27 of 1956 were exempted and could employ women if they were going to work only in "cobbing and sorting" (McCulloch 2010:424). Women, therefore, worked inside the mines, in production. There have

[62] It is important to note that there were white women who lived around the mines, especially those who were married to managers and supervisors. In fact, in the 1922 Rand Revolt by white miners, white women played an active role. See Berger (1992), Krinkler (1996) and Nite (2015).

been other studies in mining literature which, like McCulloch (2010), have sought to recover and reclaim the history of women in mining. Despite women in Asbestos mines, the male preference and conception of the mine and mineworkers as masculine informed scholarship and shaped imaginings of a legitimate mineworker.

Since 2002 when women were legislatively incorporated into mining in South African, South African mining literature has also seen a rise in scholarship on women mineworkers (mainly as academic theses and a few article). Most of the studies however have a policy oriented approach and are descriptive, focusing on what it means for women to work in mining and the challenges faced by women in mining (Ralushai 2003; Msimango 2006; Benya 2009; McCulloch 2010; Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu 2010; Molapo 2011; Scheeper 2013; Botha 2013; 2014; Botha and Cronjé 2014; 2015; Badenhorst 2012; Zungu 2012; 2013; Nite 2015). While women in most of these studies are the subject of enquiry, they still appear as subordinates who are being inserted in the mining labour force and men are natural occupants. Furthermore, these studies do not analyse gendered identity construction and are instead focused on the incorporation of women and challenges that have to be overcome in order to fully incorporate them.

While the South African studies focus on the recent inclusion of women in mining, the thematic focus of other feminist mining studies analyse is far ranging. Some look at capitalist restructuring and the ways in which it reinforces gender division and hierarchies by relegating women to unpaid housework and men to paid work, proletarianisation and how that reconfigures gender relations and roles, women's participation in protests, unions and how these reinforced or challenges gender ideologies and power structures (Gier & Mercier 2006; Blomberg 2006). Others look at women's economic development and empowerment within

the mining context and argue for a gendered corporate social responsibility attitude (Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre 2006; Gier & Mercier 2006; Lahiri-Dutt 2011;).

Other themes covered look at the ways in which historical global forces such as colonialism and capitalism and death of a mine worker husband changed gender roles in mining and mining communities, and how that reconfigured gender hierarchies, the processes and events which led to mining being associated with masculinity, and how gender identities were constructed in different epochs and different countries and to what extent these identities characterised historical developments broadly (See Steedman 2006; Baker 2006; Blomberg 2006; Yoshida & Miyauchi 2006; Sone 2006; DeStefanis 2006; Gier 2006; Smith 2006; Lahiri-Dutt 2006a, 2006b; Caballero 2006; Hinton, Hinton & Viega 2006; Crispin 2006 and Hoecke 2006).

While the gender order in most studies seems entrenched, gender ideologies and gender performances are shown to be fluid. For example, women are shown to challenge the masculine unions by taking control, organising and leading marches while men stand on the side lines. In others, contrary to the male breadwinner 'ideal', it is women who "assume the role of independent breadwinners during strikes, or after the death or incapacity of a husband" (Baker 2006; Sone 2006:164; Steedman 2006). These studies demonstrate the ways women challenge the gendered order and sometimes gender roles. While they historicize the presence of women in mining, they do not theorise gender identity construction, the performance of gender, how it is negotiated. They mainly make claims about the shifting gender identities and gender roles.

An argument which runs through some of these studies is the way in which gender has been used to marginalize and exclude women from mine work, unions, and working class politics in mining communities. They demonstrate how femininity has been used to facilitate and justify

this exclusion and to de-politicised women in general and wives specifically, while constructing men as political subjects (Lahiri-Dutt 2006; De Stefanis 2006; Bloomberg 2006; Baker 2006; Steedman 2006). While these 'women in mining' or 'women and mining' studies are important in repositioning and reclaiming women's neglected history in mining and start from the basis of gender as a social construct, they do little to demonstrate this premise. The examination treats the social subjects as already constituted as women instead of demonstrating how it comes to be constituted as such (Kelan 2009). That means the very gender they are meant to examine and analyse is given an ontological status. When analysing and theorising gender it is crucial to understand how gender is constructed, how people become gendered, the fluidity and contestations involved in this process. Because these studies do not do this, the theorization of the construction of gendered identities in mining remains under explored.

Lahiri-Dutt (2006) is one of the few who examines how the construction of gender identity happens. Her focus is on the socio-linguistic construction of women mine workers or the discursive construction of gendered identities in Indian and Indonesian mines. In both cases she details how race, class, caste, education, personal background and spaces influence how women negotiate subject positions and thus construct gender identities. She demonstrates how women mine-workers claim identities by taking up discursive positions and articulating their identities from those positions. This is what she calls 'identity work'. Identity work, she argues, is "a conscious attempt to construct identity through various representations of the reality" which took place during her interviews (Lahiri-Dutt 2006a: 174).

Some of the women interviewed by Lahiri-Dutt (2006a) for instance, in fear of being judged as un-feminine, gave justification for working in the mines and emphasised their femininity in order not to be discredited as women or wives. In the interviews they discursively constructed

their identities as women. Lahiri-Dutt (2006a: 174) argued that as part of identity work, different women, depending on their ethnic identity, location in the caste hierachy, educational background, marital status and age, discursively positioned and thus constructed themselves as "feminine enough", as "good mothers", and "good women" who stay out of trouble and mind their own business despite working in the mines.

Consistent with dominant notions of femininity, these women did not construct their roles as women mineworkers positively (Lahiri-Dutt 2006a). They argued that it was necessary to work, and also emphasised being unfit for mine work. They portrayed being women mineworkers as irreconcilable with their identities as good mothers and women. Lahiri-Dutt (2006a) argues that while the conceptions of mine work as dirty, risky and difficult allowed men to assert a certain cultural masculinity, they prevented women from constructing positive images of themselves in relation to their work.

In Lahiri-Dutt's (2006b) Indonesian mine, while women operators were seen as unusual and male workers as the norm, she argues that women were daily constructed positively. Part of identity work that happened in the Indonesian mine was to carefully construct women as, less troublesome than men, as hardworking, more efficient and thus better suitable for mining. "These gender ideologies" Lahiri-Dutt (2006b:365) argues, "reflect the social relations of gender and perpertuate the differential positions of women and men in mining work". They are central in identity construction of women mineworkers.

The positive constructions noted above change after women get married and they begin to be portrayed as less committed. At home, however, gender roles and expectations do not shift and women are "unable to negotiate the conflicting gender identities" (Lahiri-Dutt 2006b: 361).

Lahiri-Dutt asserts that "the critical question of conflicting gender identities remains unresolved for *all* women, but is more acute among the (women) operators than the office workers", as a result they choose to leave their mining jobs (Lahiri-Dutt 2006b:361). Regardless of these conflicts, working in the pits, Lahiri-Dutt (2006b:365) argues, to some degree "provides new identities and new senses of the self" for women.

While these studies of gender identity construction in the mines are vital contributions to mining scholarship and challenge the naturalisation and conflation of masculinity and mining, and demonstrate the shifts in discursive constructions of gender, many questions remain unanswered. Because of her method and focus on discourse, Lahiri-Dutt (2006a; 2006b) cannot account for women's actual daily gender performances, "the process by which the individual creates her/his own identity" (Lahiri-Dutt 2006:164 fn 6) or the "procedural nature of doing gender" and how that influences identities (Kelan 2009:40). In other words, her examination of the construction of gender identity, while mindful of the effects of class, caste, race and other factors and attempts to capture the discourse used in identity work, it fails to capture the nuanced negotiations, the daily practices of women mine workers and how that influences gender identities. This is where my study comes in, as an exploration of the daily negotiation, the actual processes which produces a gendered subject. While I too focus on women mineworkers, the evidence I provide talks to the performativeness of gender.

Overall, the literature on mining reviewed above reflects a largely masculine bias mining historiography, and it echoes the gaps that exist within the "women in mining" literature, largely that it does not question how the mineworker subjects come to be produced as women and men, instead it treats them as "already constituted and gendered subjects" (Kelan 2009:40). My study attempts to do exactly that, to demonstrate this construction of gender identities of

mineworkers. Against this background, below I review theoretical approaches that I use in this thesis that enable me to get at the daily gender performances of women and their gendered identities.

Below I contextualise my underlying assumption that mines are masculine organisations and hence that the inclusion of women is a challenge. I draw from Acker's (1990; 1992) conceptualisation of gendered organisations to account for what I mean by mines as masculine organisations. This helps me to illustrate how the masculine character of the mines influences the kinds of gendered identities constructed by women in mining. I further review how masculinities have been theorised and how I understand them in this thesis. Most importantly a review of masculinities, greatly influenced by Connell's (1987, 2002; 2004) theorisation, allows me to conceptually illuminate femininities, and how they are constructed. My understanding of masculinities and femininities are influenced by various social constructionist approaches to gender. These approaches are mainly associated with West and Zimmerman (1987), Connell (2002), (and to a lesser degree Butler who is a post-modernist), who treat gender as a doing, a performance and not as a stable and enduring identity (with Butler focusing more on performativity and drawing from discursive construction).[63] In summary, the way I analyse gender identity construction takes seriously the materiality of bodies, embodiment, performativity and social spaces.

[63] Butler's (1990) concept of performativity where gender is understood as a discursive product, one that is made and remade, is insightful and I draw on it to some extent. But it has weaknesses. Nelson (1999:343) argues that it provides "no handles for thinking about spatial/temporal locations". Butler's performativity seems to posit subjects, at least analytically, as removed from their daily realities, experiences, histories and geographical embeddedness (see Nelson 1999). Since I take history, the day to day experiences and practices of workers as the cornerstone of my analyses relying heavily on Butler would limit my analysis of the construction of gender identities in mining.

3.3 Gendered Organisations

That mines are masculine organisations cannot be overstated (Moodie 1994; Alexander 2007; Webster et al 1990; Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu 2010; Molapo 2011; Stewart 2012), however, the ways in which the mine masculine culture is acknowledged should not make masculinity seem natural, necessary or even compatible with mining. The process of masculinization in the mines needs to be critically examined and masculinity's naturalised links to mining skills made visible and deliberately explored from a lens which does not equate mines to masculinity.

The gendering process of organisations has been studied using other organisations (and occupations) (see Cockburn 1983; 1985; Game & Pringle 1984; Acker 1990; 1992; McDowell and Court 1994; Britton 2000; Puwar 2004). These scholars theorise gendered organisation from different perspectives. My understanding of gender is informed by a social constructionist perspective and gender as imbued in power relations. In this conception, very briefly, gender is a 'doing', a 'saying', a relational process of becoming which is tangled up to everyday practices, performance and negotiations. It is socially, historically, culturally, and discursively constructed and continuously negotiated in interactions, and is located in and informs structures. It is embodied but not reducible to embodiment (West & Zimmerman 1987; Connell 1987; 2002; 2004; Martin 2001; 2003; Ntarangwi, 2003; Halford and Leonard 2001). To understand gender, then, in organisations I draw from one of the early scholars to methodically analyse gendered organisations (Acker; 1990; 1992a; 1992b). Acker's (1990; 1992a; 1992b) work is a shift away from the gender neutral ways organisations are often postulated as, to one which explicitly deconstructs and points out the gendered nature of organisation (see also Kanter 1977; Game and Pringle 1984; Cockburn 1985; Martin 2001; 2003).

For Acker (1990; 1992) organisations are sites which imagine and reproduce gender, especially masculinity, in the ways they are ordered. Acker (1990) notes a number of ways in which the gendering processes occurs: in the construction of divisions of labour and power, the construction of what is valuable skill and how these always render men more powerful and with more prestige than women who are often in subordinate and unskilled positions. She looks at the gendered construction of symbols and images such as language, ideology, and dress and how these tend to favour one gender over the other, especially masculinity over femininity. In most of these organisation men tend to do dominance while women do submission or support (see for Hochschild 1983; McDowell & Court 1994; Sasson-Levy 2003; 2007; Pyke & Johnson 2003; Martin 2001; 2003; Puwar 2004; Kelan 2009; Hauser 2011). The above elements, for example skill at work, language, dress code and how workers present themselves daily, actually produce gendered individuals.

It is gender which influences organisational hierarchies, the logics and assumptions held by organisations about themselves, the culture which influences the daily practices, the 'authorised' versions of gender performance, the expectations, the 'doings and sayings' discourses and policies of the organisation (Cockburn 1988; Martin 2001; Lahiri-Dutt 2006; Irvine & Vermilya 2010; Hauser 2011). Acker (1992:567) argues that gender is "present in the processes, practices, images and ideologies and distributions of power in various sectors of social life". It "organises or structures how work is done" (Fletcher and Ely 2003:3; Acker 1990; Connell 1987; 2002).[64] It pervades how organisations operate, how "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity,

[64] See also Game and Pringle 1984; Hochschild 1983; Cockburn 1985; Connell 1995; 1990; Kondo 1990; Williams 1991; Kvande 1999; Salzinger 2003; Puwar 2004 for more on gender scripts of organisations.

are patterned" (Acker 1990:146).[65] She argues that "the structure of the labour market, relations in the workplace, the control of the work process, and the underlying wage relations are always affected by symbols of gender, processes of gender identity and material inequalities between men and women" (Acker 1990:145-6).

For Acker, therefore, gender is a very basic yet integral constitutive component of organisations. From Acker's perspective organisations cannot not be gendered. They are inherently gendered in ways that mainly favour masculinity and male bodies. I shall return to this notion of bodies in a section below.

In other studies, however, especially those that examine global production, the gendering process tends to favour femininity and construct good and productive workers as feminine despite realities on the ground pointing at a more complex picture. This is clearly demonstrated by Salzinger (2003) in her four case studies in *Genders in Production*. She shows how gender operates and affirms and values femininity from the very beginning of the production process, before workers are hired, in the definitions of who is hireable, in the ways workers are controlled once hired. Salzinger (2003:9) argues that "gender operates throughout global production, framing decisions about technology, hiring and labour control".

Going back to Acker, her approach, while useful, it has been criticised for mainly giving gender in organisations an ontological status. It "turns what should be a proposition into an assumption" instead of testing the validity of the assumption first in order to demonstrate it

[65] See a clear example in Salzinger's (2003) Genders in production: Making Workers in Mexico's Global Factories.

(Britton 2000: 422). Consequentially, one is unable to see the ways in which organisations are gendered differently and thus produce and reproduce and maintain gender inequalities differently. Variations, therefore, are blurred and homogenisation dominates and thus is a limitation in imagining change.

Other approaches which are often cited as theorising gendered organisation usually equate a gendered organisation to one where a certain gender has replaced the other over time and now dominates numerically, such as the lauded feminisation of secretarial work or bank tellers (see Prather 1971; Lowe 1980; Davies 1982; Cohn 1985; Strom 1987; England & Boyer 2009), or where occupational or level discourse reflects a certain masculine bias such as the legal fraternity, correctional services or engineering, science and technology (Jurik and Halemba, 1984; Pierce 1996; Cock 1992a, b; 1994; Britton 2000; Sasson-Levy, 2002; 2003; 2007; Rimalt 2007; Klein 2002; Pilgeram 2007; Silva 2008; Kelan 2009; Hauser 2011).

In practice some of these organisations that have certain genders dominating, as argued by organisational studies scholars, do not necessarily reflect how they are assumed to be gendered. Sometimes there is a disconnect. So to argue that an organisation that has more females than male is a feminine organisation purely based on numbers does not do justice to theorising gendered organisations (Britton 2000; Kelan 2009). This is because numerical dominance or even discourses (and images) do not necessarily always correspond with organisational gendered culture. Irvine & Vermilya 2010 explain this point well in their study of the veterinarian profession where there are more women than men and yet the culture and the jobs are imagined masculine and favoured traits are associated with masculinity. Also, Robbins, Francis, Kay & William (2001) who studied male and female ministers show that while majority of the ministers are male, qualities that are exalted are feminine. Male ministers, they

argue, tended to enact characteristics associated with femininity, while women priests enacted masculine characteristics than feminine (Robbins et al 2001). The traits are 'unorthodoxly' embodied. In both these cases, and many others, the numerical dominance of one sex did not necessarily mean that the organisational and occupational culture reflected the dominant group. This logic is flawed because in reality it is quite possible to have organisations and occupations dominated by a certain sex while gendered differently.

Britton (2000) notes that this nominal approach which equates numerical dominance to how an organisation is gendered, conflates sex and gender or more specifically sex composition with gender typing. When sex and gender are conflated, the social contexts and historical processes which shape the culture may be obscured (Britton 2000). Distinguishing between the two, therefore, is more productive, especially when thinking about addressing inequalities. Historical and social context, policies and technologies, culture, which are a product of negotiations, interactions and daily practices are all important because they illuminate authorised versions of gender performance which are more reliable when theorising how organisations are gendered and how this can be challenged and transformed.

The ways in which organisations are gendered also determines subject positions available to workers, it influences how these positions are negotiated in practice and through discourses, it affects gender performances and ultimately influences subjectivities; the construction of gender identities. Sometimes there is disconnect between the performances and identities and this leads to negotiations and renegotiations of positions.

To say mines are gendered masculine then, is not to say they are numerically dominated by men, but to take into consideration the culture, the social and historical context, and how life

is patterned in the mines and the factors mentioned by Acker. Mines imagine the body and life of a man, the workplace practices, the division of labour, dress, language, interactions, skill, ideologies, the distribution of power favours men, and finally the subtext and undertones circulating depict masculinity as a norm (Kelan 2009:29; Acker 1990: 139 see also Puwar 2004). To have women enter the mines and work in occupations and spaces that were always seen as masculine is to fundamentally disrupt the spatial norms and the gender practices and identities in these spaces.

To make sense of gender identities below I elaborate on how I conceive of masculinities and femininities which are at the centre of this thesis. I rely on Connell (2005) to define masculinities and I also draw from other scholars who look at African and mining masculinities to buttress and to contextualise Connell's (2005) hegemonic masculinity within the context of my study.

3.4 Masculinities

While the generic concept of gender is useful, what is even more concise in understanding gender, gender relations or gender identities and inequalities are specificities such as masculinities and femininities (Martin 2001). According to Connell (1987; 1990; 1995; 2002; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) "masculinity" and "femininity" are not singular, fixed, or dichotomous, but are fluid, multiple and relational. They exist in contrast and in relation to each other. There are several intervening factors that contribute to multiplicity of these gendered identities, such as race, class, sexuality, religion, the economy, politics (Connell 1987; 1990; 2005, see also Schnurr 2008).

There are approaches such as post-structuralism, mainly informed by Foucault, which treat masculinity as a discursive construction (Speer 2001; Edley 2001; Pringle & Markula 2005). In this thesis I do not adopt this approach because it tends to see performances of masculinity as a situational choice rather than as performances that emanate from commitments to particular gender identities (Connell 2002; 2005). This approach has been critiqued for not locating the construction of masculinity within structures, and for downplaying gender and power inequalities, and theorizing masculinities as a tactical choice (see Connell 2005). In this approach, history, the economy, and geo-politics are not embedded or weaved into the analysis of masculinities, instead the theorisation tends to be de-historicised and the power and politics of gendered performances and identities neutralised.

The approach I adopt in this thesis sees masculinity as relational, located in politics and "deeply entangled in the *history* of institutions and of economic structures" (Connell 2005: 29). I draw from Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:852) who define masculinities as "configurations of practices that are constructed, unfold and change through time". This means that there is no unitary masculinity even in societies or institutions that seem culturally homogenous, instead, there are diverse masculinities which are "always liable to internal contradictions and historical disruptions because it is a configuration of practices, simultaneously positioned in a number of structures of relationship" (Connell 2005: 73; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). This conception means that masculinities are not subjective identities, rather, they are part of social relations and structures.

Not only should we view masculinity in relation to femininity but we must also recognise relations and practices between the different kinds of masculinities; relations of alliance,

dominance (or hegemony) and subordination (Connell 1987:37; 2005). Here I will only touch on hegemonic masculinities since they relate directly to my study of mining.

Hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form of masculinity in a particular configuration and it is constructed in relation to (and subordinates) femininity and other subordinated and marginalized masculinities (Connell 1987; 2005; Demetriou 2001; Hove 2014). For example, in the case of South Africa mining masculinity would not be hegemonic as such, only hegemonic within the scope of the mining organisation. Hegemony[66] implies that there is "consent and participation by the subaltern groups" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:841)". Demetriou (2001: 341) differentiates between two ("interconnected and arguably inseparable") types of hegemony, external and internal. External he argues refers "to the institutionalization of men's dominance over women" and internal hegemony "refers to a social ascendancy of one group of men over others" (Demetriou 2001: 341). Hegemonic masculinity, therefore, "is not a fixed character type… rather the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender *relations*, a position always contestable" yet it is the most honoured version of masculinity (Connell 2005:76; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). In line with this thesis, in the case of my study subordinate groups are not only marginalised masculinities but femininities enacted by women who have recently joined the mines.

[66] Connell's 'hegemony' in hegemonic masculinities is inspired by Gramsci. In Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony he shows that, while hegemony is indicative of consent from the masses, it is rarely without resistance, what he calls counter hegemony. In the case of mining where masculinity is hegemonic, with the entrance of women and their performances of other non-hegemonic gendered identities we could argue that there is resistance to the hegemony of masculinities, even if that resistance is not strong. The fact that women are not all conforming to the masculine idea and are choosing to enact other identities is indicative of the resistance.

Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity has been criticised for several reasons; for being ambiguous, imprecise in its meaning and idealistic in its definition, inconsistently applied (Collinson and Hearn 1994; 1996 and Hearn 1996 and 2004) essentialising, homogenising hegemonies, and analytically privileging heteronormative conceptions of gender that reinforce the gender binary logic and for presenting hegemonic masculinities as unified as oppose to contradictory and contested (Collier 1998 and MacInnes 1998). Holter (1997, 2003) argues that the concept constructs masculine power from the direct experience of women rather than from the structural basis of women's subordination (see Connell & Messerschmidt 2005). Other scholars have criticized the term hegemonic masculinity for focusing on the macro level of analysis. For Juanita Elias (2007), while the concept needs to be contextualized within a "global gender order', this should also be weaved into the local context and not abstracted from it.

Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) response to the criticisms on hegemonic masculinity is that the concept should not be viewed as a fixed trans-historical model, but should be located in the history of gender in particular regimes. They argue that the ambiguity of hegemonic masculinities can be viewed as a mechanism of sustaining their power because when it is difficult to name something and pinpoint how it operates, it is difficult to challenge it. They admit that when hegemonic masculinity is applied at a regional level it can exhibit contradictions while "at the local level, hegemonic patterns of masculinity are embedded in specific environments, such as formal organisations" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 839). [67] Specificity of context is therefore crucial when applying the concept.

[67] I am aware of the debates and contestation and the rejection by some scholars, particularly those looking at African Masculinities, on regionalising masculinities. See Morrell 1988, Breckenridge 1988; Murray and Roscoe 1998; Amadiume 1987; Hove 2014; Richter and Morrell 2006, Moodie 1994; Molapo 2011; Uchendu 2008(CODESRIA Special Edition on Masculinities in contemporary Africa); Ouzgane and Morrell 2005.

While this concept has been criticized it remains useful for thinking through and understanding masculinities particularly in mining because mine work tends to be closely associated with hegemonic masculinity. As noted above, the South African mining industry has long been identified as the site and centre where racialized masculinities were constructed, sustained and reproduced daily; first as part of the colonial project and later as part of the apartheid workplace regime.

In South Africa, Morrell (1998) argues, the apartheid state actively constructed new and reshaped existing masculinities in hierarchical ways, resulting in racialized masculine identities. Hove (2014:536) in "Treacherous Masculinities and Assertive Femininities" argues that during apartheid there were three emphasised racialised masculinities; a "predominantly British middle class masculinity" and an Afrikaner masculinity which he notes "brooked no compromise and privileged a militaristic and exclusionary" masculinity and a black masculinity which was characterized not only by its overall subordination to other masculinities, but their "physical superiority, emotional violence and erotic treachery" (see also Donaldson 1993; Moodie 1998; Breckenridge 1998; Morrell 1998). The two white masculinities were constructed as more powerful than black masculinity, as a result they sought to subdue and oppress black masculinity. In most contexts black mine workers were seen to embody this racially subordinated but fearless and physically strong masculinity.[68] For black

[68] Morrell (1988) also provides evidence of other forms of ethnic masculinities such as Zulu masculinity. This Zulu masculinity, Uchendu (2008:8) argues that Zulu masculinity "combined martial prowess with honesty; high morality…loyalty; aggression; a sense of responsibility; courage; self-reliance; athleticism; alertness; endurance and absence of emotions". Zulu masculinity, she argues, had a 'domestic side' to it, what she calls "masculine domesticity" whereby "boys were taught to clean the home and cook meals for their fathers" (Uchendu 2008:9). Other ethnic masculinities noted are Shona masculinities. In pre-colonial Shona, "masculinity was determined by an ability to 'perform', actually to manifest verbal skills. A young boy who could 'perform' by speaking convincingly and winning arguments was a man, while an older male person

mineworkers to be seen to embody masculinity they had to consistently and successful do the physically demanding mine work under the extreme hot and dangerous conditions. Mining masculinity, Moodie (1994:38) argues, was about "staying power, strength in remaining true to one's purposes and in solidarity with one's friends and neighbours".

While Connell, Morrell, Hove and Breckenridge apply the concept purely to men, in some of Moodie's work masculinities appear to be embodied not only by men, but also by women. It became more pronounced in the absence of a male mineworker husband.[69] For Moodie's (1994) Mpondoland mineworkers' masculinity, what he calls *ubudoda*, had little to do with one's sex or gender and more to do with one's ability to take care and manage the homestead, settle disputes and be benevolent. These women were often left in the homestead to build and take care of *umzi* (the homestead), her children and her husband's family and their livestock.[70] This notion of masculinity which is embodied by women is very central in this study as I will elaborate later.

In Moodie (1994) subsequent visits to Mpondoland he noted a shift in the above conceptions of masculinity in relation to women. Men interviewed ridiculed the idea that women could have *ubudoda* -which was at that time associated with warrior syndrome or strength in combat. For

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lacking verbal skills was a child and was often excluded in male gatherings" (2008:9). Colonial experience, however, led to reconfigurations of these notions of masculinity and their alignment with British patriarchal masculinity which prioritized martial qualities and were phallocentric.

[69] While Mpondo women could indeed have manhood, this notion does not seem to have applied in other regions, even those not far, geographically from Mpondoland. Upon examining Zulu literature for instance women who were perceived to embody and enact masculinity were ostracised. Take Shaka Zulu's mother, Nandi who was thought to display masculine strength and was subsequently ostracised. Ucendu (2008) corroborates this ill-treatment of Zulu women who were seen to embody qualities associated with masculinity. Uchendu (2008:9) argues that for "Zulu women, masculinity assumed a negative connotation as something inferior and unbecoming. For being 'extremely purposeful', 'self-willed and sharp-tongued'" women attracted resentment and estrangement.

[70] He argues that they also defined femininity, *ubufazi*, is similar ways, "as a woman who, when the man is away in the mines, looks after his things at home, she does everything" (Moodie 1994:39).

this group, masculinity and femininity were firmly located in biological maleness or femaleness (Moodie 1994:41). The earlier definitions therefore were as much about morals as they were about the physical strength and biological make-up. These definitions extended notions of masculinity to not only male bodies but female bodies as well (see also Amadiume 1987 and Murray and Roscoe 1998). The shifts in conceptions of masculinity and femininity in Moodie's (1994) respondents show the significance of history, location and context in making sense of gender identities. The entrance of women in mining troubles this notions; it challenges the exclusive links between masculinity and maleness. I will return to this issue later when addressing femininities.

A point I wish to emphasise, however, is that while definitions of mining masculinity have been associated with male-ness, with the entrance of women in mining and specifically underground, the concept of masculinity is being reconfigured and stretched to incorporate masculinities that are enacted by female-bodies underground, not only above ground and in the absence of men. In practice, the notion of masculinity refers as much to biological male bodies as it does to gender performances by 'non-male' bodies. To highlight performativeness is to show that masculinity can be embodied and done by those who demonstrate certain traits and are able to muster certain practices and language. I use this open notion of masculinities and performativeness to make sense of gender identities underground. What then of femininity? How do I imagine femininities in mining?

3.5 Femininities

The concept of femininities has not been theorised sufficiently, and as a result debates continue on what constitutes femininity (Schippers 2007, Holmes and Schnurr 2006, Messerschmidt 2003, Pyke and Johnson 2003). At the most basic level, it is a relational gender category associated with and practiced mainly by females who identify as women. The dominant discourse portrays femininity as subordinate and an anomaly in relation to masculinity (Connell 2005) and incompatible with physical activity (Van Zuydam 2012). It is commonly equated with domesticity, softness, weakness, emotional labour, nimble fingers, eye for detail and taking care of the family (Elson & Pearson 1981; Hochschild 1989; Kondo 1990; Martin 2001).

Meanings of femininity have changed over time and sometimes across "small expanse of space" (Salzinger 2003:24, Connell 2002, McDowell 1999). Some gender scholars have tended to either transpose Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity to femininities and others have sought to develop her idea of emphasised femininities (McDowell 1999; Glenn 1999; Holmes & Schnurr 2006; Cheng 2006). Connell (1987) asserts that femininity cannot be hegemonic because there is no version of femininity which subordinates all other femininities and masculinities the way hegemonic masculinity does (see also Cheng 1996; Schippers; 2007). The concept of hegemonic femininity is invalid because "women have fewer opportunities for institutionalized power relations over other women" (Connell 1987: 183). She suggests instead "emphasised femininity" which she argues is broadly "defined around compliance with subordination and is oriented to accommodating the interests and desires of men" (Connell 1987:183.

While Connell (1987) and other gender scholars argue that no version of femininity should be viewed as hegemonic, Pyke and Johnson's (2003) offer an alternative way of making sense of hegemonies and femininities. In their study which looks at white and Asian women they suggests that there are hegemonic femininities enacted by white women which subordinate other racialised femininities. For them, hegemonic femininities are those "that (are) venerated and extolled in dominant culture and emphasize the superiority of some women over others thereby privileging white upper class women" (Pyke and Johnson 2003:35). They are not saying hegemonic masculinity is equivalent to hegemonic femininity, rather "hegemonic femininity is confined to power relations among women" (Pyke and Johnson 2003:51). This categorization has been disputed by Schippers (2007:88) because it does not allow us "to identify the relationships between femininities operating *within* race and ethnicity. Further, it does not have "conceptual apparatus with which to identify how men benefit from the relationship between white femininity" (Schippers 2007:89) and other subordinate femininities. With this conceptualization of femininities there is "little conceptual room to identify multiple femininities within race and class groups and more importantly, which raced and classed femininities serve the interests of male dominance and which do not" (Schippers 2007:89).

In light of these criticisms on the concept of hegemonic femininity, what scholars have suggested instead, is emphasised or dominant femininities (Glenn (1999; Cheng 1999 McDowell 1999), (there are also ascendant and normal femininities). Emphasised femininity, unlike hegemonic masculinity, does not subordinate all other genders. Not all these versions of femininity are accepted; some are shunned and punished, especially 'deviant femininities' (Holmes and Schnurr 2006; McDowell 1999).

Of all femininities enacted, emphasised femininity is the most culturally valued femininity but not the most widespread version of femininity (Connell 1987, Cheng 1999). Connell argues that emphasised femininity is the kind of femininity that is in 'compliance' with the subordination of women and aims to maintain the status quo of gender relations and "accommodates hegemonic masculinity, it's interests and desires while preventing other femininities from gaining cultural articulation " (Connell 1987: 184-185 and Cheng 1999). As I will demonstrate below, this concept of emphasised femininity is useful to understand some of the women mineworkers' gender performances and identities as they carve out space for themselves. As I will demonstrate below, other fascinating femininities also emerge and are continuously negotiated by women mineworkers depending on what is at stake. I see these femininities as relational with each other and with mining masculinities described above.

The way I understand femininities, therefore, recognises the complexities, the fluidity and negotiation inherent in the concept. My conceptualisation appreciates that femininities are relational, can be embodied, and they are located in a specific socio-historical and cultural context; the meanings, practices or performances of femininities are fluid, negotiated and contested, rather than fixed (Connell 1995; Kondo 1990; Salzinger 2003). This conception helps me navigate and make sense of femininities enacted by women mineworkers on the ground. Other studies that assist in deciphering the actual process of constructing femininities are Salzinger's study of the Mexican maquiladoras where she looks at the production of gender in global production. She shows how femininity is constructed on the shop floor through the process of interpellation. Managers, according to Salzinger evoke femininity and actively negate masculinity. It is through this gendering process and intense 'super-vising' that gendered shop floor subjects are ultimately created, as a response to the fantasy discursively evoked by managers. She argues that "feminization emerges as a discursive process which

operates on both male and female bodies" (Salzinger 2003:11). To encourage productivity on the shop floor managers rhetorically mobilized femininity which some workers could relate and respond to through their practices and others not. Femininities, therefore, were a product, amongst many factors, of global production rhetoric, manager's fantasies, manager's objectives, tactics, obligations, gender paradigms operating locally, shop floor imperatives and understandings of gender.

These fantasies not only produced feminine workers, but an ideal docile worker. Salzinger (2003:9) argues, these were "template against which workers are imagined and imagine themselves" they were products of particular shop floor relations and discourses. Docility and productivity were products of demand, expectations, gender rhetoric, discourses, gender and power relations in maquilas. Thus she argues "docility, no matter who exhibits it, is produced on the shop floor, not acquired ready-made (Salzinger 2003:10)". Those who could relate shaped their subjectivities around these rhetorics while those who could not relate actively constructed other femininities.[71]

Hochschild's (1983; 2003) *Managed Heart* also demonstrates another side to the construction of specific workplace femininities and masculinities (see also Connell 2003: 62-65 and 2005). The construction of feminine subjects involved "deep acting" whereby women airline attendants were encouraged to relinquish some of their power to passengers while men did the opposite. In other words women were encouraged to practice and deeply embody and enact traits associated with femininity, and in that way feminine subjects were constructed. Sasson-

[71] See also Ngai Pun's (2005) study of Chinese factories where she details the ways in which femininities were constructed and how productivity was mobilised by evoking and valorising certain attributes while downgrading others. In Ngai Pun's (2005) case men were constructed as lazy, inferior and unproductive while femininity and women were constructed in opposition, as productive, and good workers.

Levy's (2002; 2003; 2007) study of the Israeli Army shows another way in which gendered subjects are constructed. In the army, she argues, women are indirectly discouraged from displaying femininity and are encouraged to display only those versions of femininity that are associated with masculinity such as ignoring the insulting character of the "jokes" and refusing to be hurt or offended (Sasson-Levy, 2002:375). The discourses circulating and expectations on female workers to enact certain subjectivities and not others give a clue as to subject positions available as gendered identities are constructed and illuminate the process of constructing identities.

The studies above look at femininities enacted by women, in Moodie and Ndatshe's (1994) pioneering study in gold mines they also elaborates on femininities enacted by men, what workers referred to as 'mine wives'. Some men were taken as wives[72] by older mineworkers: "The young men displayed markers of femininity...by wearing imitation breasts fashioned from wood and cloth, strong perfumes, skirts, and tight jackets. They further masked their masculinity by wearing head-scarves and using creams that hid their need to shave. The female role of the *inkhontxana* was reinforced by their sexual suggestive dancing" (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994:122).[73] They performed household tasks such as "fetch(ing) water, cook(ing) food and do(ing) any odd work or run messages for his master and at night time to be available as bedfellow" (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994:126). In return for these "services they were well fed and paid, presents and luxuries" were 'lavished' upon them (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994:126). [74] The presence of mine wives served to reinforce the masculinity of workers. What then does the

[72] The theme of men who were turned into women is also captured in some of Fugard's plays such as; Nongogo, No Good Friday and Master Harold and the boys.
[73] For a more in-depth descriptive analysis of these relations and how they were feminine see Moodie 1994's chapter 4 on sexualities and Chapter 5 on Convivialities.
[74] In Nite and Stewart (2012) men share their interesting experiences at being propositioned to be minewives.

presence of women who are workers and who are meant to be equal partners with men do? Does it also maintain masculinity or are the gendered performances of women in mining more complex than those exhibited by mine wives? Most important, what do they tell us about the construction of gender identities, gender performances and bodies? These are questions that my empirical evidence begins to answer below.

What we can deduce from the above examples for now is that femininities are also performative and products of workplace relations, orders, expectations and hierarchies, social, cultural and historical contexts and power relations. When context changes, as is the case in mining, gender performances and identities are reconfigured.

From a gender performance, gender identity *can* emerge. I use the word *can*, because it is not always the case that gender identity emerges out of a gender performance. The two are not always aligned, there is a "fragile relationship" between them (Kelan 2009:33). This is especially the case where women work in masculine organisations or masculine occupations. At work they can perform gender in ways that are aligned to their work but dissimilar to their negotiated identities outside of work and vice versa (see McDowell and Court 1994; McDowell 1999; Pilgeram 2007; Salzinger 2003, Sasson-Levy 2003; 2007).[75] These women tend to "negotiate their gender identity by reflexively adopting or rejecting certain subject positions" (Kelan 2009:33). I will illustrate this more clearly in my chapter on Femininities where women

[75] See McDowell and Court (1994) who look at female merchant bankers in London. These women had certain ways of representing themselves and constructing their identities in the merchant banking environment and outside work. Two of these women were photographed in a way which conveyed masculinity, an identity they did not want to be identified with outside of work. After the photo was published they went to demand that another photo which portrayed them as feminine be taken and published. They wanted to be represented not as masculine bankers but as feminine and as bankers. This is a clear case of a disjuncture between a (public and private) gender performance, space and gender identity.

negotiate certain subject positions, 'bargain with patriarchy' (Kandiyoti 1988) and sometimes enact strategic and productive 'marginality' (hooks 1990; Spivak 1993). This is to say they enact a marginality which benefits them temporarily but does not necessarily change the gender order long term.

These negotiations of performances demonstrate that gender identity is not static, homogenous or has any essence to it or end product (Carrigan, Connell and Lee 1985; McDowell 1999:22). In this thesis I conceive of a gender identity as a fluid and constantly negotiated sense of self which involves challenging, resisting and renegotiating different subject positions. The negotiation of the self is "an everyday process created and recreated through the routines and activities and practices of our everyday lives" (Halford and Leonard 2006:9 see also Czarniawska 2013). Gender identity therefore, is "an interplay between the self-presentation and attributed position whereby others attempts to position or reposition particular individuals or groups" both discursively and practically, it is "the ongoing acts of positioning" (Czarniawska 2013:62; McDowell 1999). This negotiation does not only depend on sex categories, practices, symbols and language but also bodies and spaces.

3.6 Bodies

Bodies are sites where the construction of gendered subjectivities takes place. They are at the centre of how workers negotiate subject position (Gqola 2005; Shilling 2005) or negotiate "structure and agency, the social and the individual" (Wolkowitz 2006:20). One of the ways in which Acker (1990) studies organisational culture and gender relations is by focusing on bodies. As Kirtsoglou (2004:29) argues, the body "far from being a natural and ahistorical object, is a culturally constituted lived anatomy... heavily involved in the fashioning of gender

identity". In other words masculinities and femininities I mention above proceed from bodies (Davis 1997; Connell 2002; 2005).

Gender, Connell (2002: 51) argues, is always socially embodied and "many gender processes involve bodily processes and capacities". In some labour studies, however, bodies disappear, or are treated as abstract sites[76] or appear as docile (Wolkowitz 2006; Holmes 2007:175). One of the reasons bodies are sometimes downplayed, obscured, or treated as 'absent while present' in labour studies is that they have been turned into commodities (Wolkowitz 2006).[77] To make them visible or to "convert the body in the workplace from a relatively unmarked position" and an acknowledged aspect of the construction and experience of workers, Wolkowitz (2006:16) argues that we must take account of the "body's many guises", bodies as objects and as agents, and interrogate what the body really is in relation to a sense of self (see also Connell 2002).

Below I do not only look at the body as a biological site but as an interconnected "social, cultural and historical site" (Grosz 1994:18) and "as a representative of cultural boundaries" Kirtsoglou 2004:31). In this thesis bodies are at the centre because the construction of an ideal and competent mine worker, of an insider imagines a particular body (Kelan 2009; Puwar 2004; Wolkowitz 2006). Bodily distinctions are used in the production of the ideal and non-ideal, the inferiority or the normative. This is partly done by defining subjugated groups or those seen as invaders (Puwar 2004) (women in this case) as nothing but their bodies and dominant groups as neutral or disembodied (Young 1990:142).

[76] See McDowell (1997; 2009) who looks at commoditisation of the body, where the body as a product in and of itself.
[77] See Wolkowitz's (2006) critique of post-structuralist's taming of the body in their analysis of worker's experiences.

The body, therefore, is an important site where power operates, (Davis, 1997 and Kirtsoglou, 2004), a site of agency, and an instrument for subversive practices (see Foucault 1979). While not always the source of identity (McDowell 1997), bodies are very central and "inescapable in the construction" of gendered identities (Connell 2005:56) and the materiality of bodies remains central to the experiences and practice of the women in the mines. Social processes- such as mine work- and social structures always invoke the body, and are themselves bodily activities. This is what Connell (2002) calls the "body-reflexive practice", whereby bodies are involved in the construction of the social world and vice versa. The way I analyse the construction of gendered identities below places bodies at the centre.

Furthermore, I demonstrate that the construction of gendered identities is not only an embodied performative process but it also takes place in spaces. Bornstein (1994:27) argues that how we do gender ultimately "boils down to how we occupy space both alone and with others". Gender performances of workers cannot be understood outside their contexts, including the spatial context within which they occur. To understand gender performances without engaging spaces "leads to a static description of identities" (Nelson 1999: 342) yet what women in mining, in particular, are pointing to are fluid and multiple identities, thus making context and space, in particular, most relevant.

3.7 Spaces

In this study spaces are conceptualised as social spaces, as oppose to abstract spaces. Lefebvre (1991), analysing space in relation to modes of production, argues that space is not only material but social and is not only constituted "by a collection of things or an aggregate of

(sensory) data …it is irreducible to a 'form' imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality" and it extends beyond its instrumentality (Lefebvre 1991:27).

A key feature in the production of space which informs my thinking about spaces is Lefebvre's 'spatial triad'; spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces. The *spatial practices* are mainly the actions that ensure cohesion, and continuity; the *representations of space*, meaning the conceptualized space which is associated with capital, the state; and, finally *spaces of representation* which are lived spaces, characterized by people's everyday experiences. The relationship between them is characterized by a dialectical tension than a hierarchical one. Lefebvre (1991) argues that "it is reasonable to assume that spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces contribute in different ways to the production of space according to their qualities and attributes according to the society, or mode of production in question and according to the historical period" (Lefebvre 1991:46).

For my research, space is important because it is *in* space that identities are constructed. Social relations including gender relations are constructed and negotiated spatially and are embedded in the spatial organisations of places (Duncan 1996). The two- identity and social space- constitute each other. According to Ainley (1998) there is a cumulative and reflexive process producing and being produced by and within dynamic gendered spaces.

Drawing from Harvey's (2004) "Space as a Key Word," the social space I refer to above exists as '*absolute'* in that it has an open[78] territorial designation; for example the underground, the

[78] The notion of spaces as closed of bounded is highly contested. While Harvey (2004; 1996) and Massey (1994) argue that spaces are open and disagree, in principle, with the notion of spaces or places as bounded and undisturbed. Hudson (2001:258) argues that the notion that places are permeable is not set in stone, in some instances what we conceive as permeable may be impermeable. He further asserts that "the degree to which

surface and home spaces. I see these spaces as *relational*, meaning they are not divorced from each other and the processes that take place in each of them influences the construction and practices in other spaces. There is therefore a dialectical relationship between the spaces, processes and practices occurring in them. As Harvey (2004) argues, drawing from Lefebvre, there is no such thing as space outside of the processes that define it. Thus space is also *relative* and exists alongside time for example. Space is also fluid, uncertain and is defined by practices and (unequal) power relations, flows and movements, all of which give it a distinctive character.[79] Space therefore is multiple, not the multiplicity which comes from segmentation or criss-crossing, but in that it can serve as a means of production and also of control, domination, power and agency (Lefebvre 1991). It is not only controlled by those who use it, but can also influence those who inhabit it. Not only are spaces socially produced, multiple, but they are also gendered, meaning we socially produce gendered spaces by marking certain gendered bodies as the norm and others as invaders (Puwar 2004).

Space, therefore, exists with contradictions and is also borne out of these contradictions. A new space, Lefebvre (1991) argues, cannot be born unless the contradictions in the existing space are heightened, as opposed to muted and managed (as is the case when there is hegemony). For Lefebvre (1991:52) "each existing space carries with it a seed for the new kind of space", what he calls a "differential space" (Lefebvre 1991:285).

The presence of women in mining, or female bodies in a space that has historically, socially, and culturally been marked as masculine and occupied mainly by male bodies, destabilizes an

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places are closed, continuous and bounded or open, discontinuous and permeable is best regarded as a matter to be resolved ex post facto and empirically rather than a priori and theoretically". He argues that we must look at space as a continuum with some spaces more open than others, internally homogenous or heterogenous.

[79] See Lefebvre 1991.

exclusive masculine sense of the mines, it 'disrupts the somatic norm' of underground (Puwar 2004). Women's inclusion also represents possibilities for a reimagining of the space, the practices, relations and discourses operating in it. Their presence which is a 'disturbance' of spatial somatic norms makes visible the taken for granted construction of gender identities.

The thesis does not only focus on the production space and its role in the construction of subjectivities but also on the reproduction space at the household scale. Home or the household is an important site because it is "where the relations of production and social reproduction converged" (Marston 2000: 238) and influence gendered identity. Marston (2000) argues that the household as a scale of social and political identity, as a site of social reproduction, reproduction of material bases of society of gender relations of cultural systems and as a space of consumption is fundamental in construction and negotiation of gendered identities, more so for women who do most of the social reproduction work, including the reproduction of identities. Hence, it is imperative to include this site, this scale, in a study which seeks to illustrate and explain the construction of gendered identities.

A basic definition for scale is that it is a way of organising the world, a level of representation. According to geographers scale is socially constructed and does not have an ontological or preordained status (Massey 1994 and 2004; Howitt 1998 Marston 2000; Brenner 2005). It should not be viewed as a level or size but as relational (Howitt 1998). My conception of scale draws from feminist geographers such as Marston (2000:221) who argue that scale is "constituted and reconstituted around relations of capitalist production, social reproduction and consumption" as oppose to the definitions which "reflect territorial logic of patriarchy" (Marston et al 2005: 24 see Marston 2000;). While I adopt Marston's definition of scales which takes seriously social reproduction, I am aware of the contestations by geographers around this

concept (see Marston, Jones, Woodward 2005; see also Marston 2005; Swyngedouw 2004; Brenner 2005; Cox 1998b, 1996; Massey 1994 and 2004) and the proposals put forth as a way of doing away with hierarchizing models of conceiving scale (Marston et al 2005 who draw a lot from Schatzki's 2002 site ontology). In my case, to be mindful of the importance of scale and to analytically appreciate Marston's et al (2005) flat ontology means to see the household, the home or reproduction site as important as the work site in shaping or influencing the construction of gendered identities as opposed to locating it on the margins.

By adopting the social and relational conception of space and the flat ontology of scale I am able to demonstrate the ways in which space and identity are inextricably linked, and how an understanding of the relationship between the two enhances our understanding of identity construction. This is not to conflate space and identity, especially when considering the home space. If anything at all, I show how these are separate but influence each other in intimate and not hierarchical ways.

Additional to spaces, bodies and performativity, I now turn to language as another central precept in the construction of gendered identities. According to Czarniawska (2003:61 citing Davies & Harre 1990:44), "identities are performed in conversations". It is in these conversations that the self is formed, transformed and sustained. While language is not always a reliable framework for understanding gender, it remains useful in contextualising gender performances and making sense of the construction of gendered identities. It thus remains an important aspect of gender (Connell 2002). The discursive negotiation and thus construction of identities by mineworkers for example becomes clearer when we start to peel off the meanings of layers of fanakalo, and when we contextualise women's use or rejection of

fanakalo underground. It is through these negotiations of the language that workers adopt or reject certain subject position and thus construct identities.

3.8 Language

"We are aware that language is an integral part of social life with all its ruses and iniquities, and that a good part of our social life consists of the routine exchange of linguistic expressions in the day-to-day flow of social interaction....language and social life are inextricably linked". (Thompson 1991:1 in Bourdieu 1991)

"Competency in the language is critical for the inclusion of 'invaders'" Puwar (2004: 112)

As already noted above, central in the construction of gendered subjectivities is language. The language used in the mines is fanakalo. For decades fanakalo has been the lingua franca of South African mines[80] used by over 70% of mineworkers in production (Mutsila 2003). It is marked not only by words used, but by the tone of the speaker, the syntax and grammar. As Lefebvre (1991) shows, it incorporates codes that are established at specific historical points.

Ahistoricising or abstracting fanakalo from its colonial and apartheid past does not do justice to its significance as a signifying (historical and contemporary) element in the making of a mineworker subject. I therefore start from this history and bring the review to the post-apartheid era and firmly link it, alongside bodies, spaces and performativeness to the construction of gendered identities in mining, especially femininities.

[80] Patterson's 2009, Mutsila 2003, Mesthrie 2007, Ngcongwane 1985, Mazibuko 2013; Phakathi 2012, Moodie 1994, Mesthrie 1989 and 2007, Adendorff 2002; 2004 and 1993, Cole 1953, Calteaux 1994; Pewa 2001, Burling 2007, Thwala 2008

Fanakalo is based on Nguni languages, the only pidgin language based on an indigenous language rather than on the language of the colonising or trading power (Mining Weekly 2008). In Nguni *fanakalo* roughly means, 'to liken it'. It developed during the colonial era, but there are disputes as to whether it developed in the region currently known as KwaZulu Natal (in the sugar cane plantations) or Eastern Cape (Adendorff 2004; Thwala 2008). It was primarily developed to 'ease' communication between English colonists and African servants and was also used as a 'go between' language between Afrikaans and English speaking colonists. Later the mines started to use it to facilitate communication between mineworkers from different parts of the African continent who spoke different languages and between white bosses and African workers. *The Mining Weekly* (5 December, 2008) reports that in the mid 20th century there were efforts to promote and standardize fanakalo to a second language under the name 'Basic Bantu'.

The correct classification of fanakalo, whether it is a language, a creole or a pidgin has been a contentious issue for linguists.[81] Patterson (2009) and Calteaux (1994) argue that fanakalo is a pidgin language, a hybrid of languages, a "native language of (virtually) none". The idea that fanakalo has a "sharply reduced structure and vocabulary" and is a drastic reduction and simplification of Zulu (Calteaux 1994) and lacks the complexities required to capture nuances has been disputed by some linguists. As a pidgin, at least, Jourdan (1991) and Adendorff (2004:185) argue that fanakalo has an unusually richer lexicon (mainly derived from isiZulu) and semantics and a more complex morphology and syntax for a pidgin language. Moreover, through borrowing, new words can be added and thus develop over time (Jourdan (1991; Adendorff 2004).

[81] See Mesthrie 2007.

In the vocabulary of the book "An Amusing and Instructive Kitchen Kaffir Dictionary", Patterson (2009:41) argues that fanakalo mainly had "commands for one's workers, criticisms, insults, invective and complaints of illness". It was and continues to be seen as a humiliating language which arose out of exploitative and violent labour conditions grounded in an extreme and explicitly racist linguistic hierarchy (objectifies, akin to animals and infantilizes Africans-boys or girls, baas or madam). Fanakalo disregarded the humanity and dignity of Africans and inscribed white supremacy and constructed African minds as 'inferior' and as lacking the capacity for memory. Embedded and reflected in the structure of fanakalo were inequalities (with whites in positions of power and blacks as their labourers), antipathy and abuse.

Fanakalo was therefore catering to whites during apartheid and this was captured in its abusive, violent, dehumanizing and demeaning references to Africans. According to Calteaux (1994), 'the use of fanakalo was one of the ways in which African adults were infantilized and coded as children. While this was the context of fanakalo, Patterson (2009) argues that apartheid Whites "described fanakalo in neutral ways", simply as a language that enabled communication between people from different linguistic backgrounds thus no mention of racism embedded in its structure.

Its continued use has also been justified along similar lines of enabling communication. Burling (2007: 207) for instance made an argument that Lingua Francas, such as fanakalo, are "extremely useful wherever languages are many". He asserts that fanakalo and other lingua francas need to be recognised as "dynamically developing languages". While Burling's argument is about dynamisms and adaptability of the language this argument does not deal with the historical associations of lingua francas such as fanakalo. When Thompson (1991), criticises Chomsky and other linguists, he argues that language cannot be divorced or seen as

operating outside of structures of domination but as embedded in them. Like other languages, Fanakalo has a history that cannot be ignored, and is located within specific socio-historical realities and anyone writing on fanakalo has to contend with. It simply cannot be analysed outside of these historical relations.

Moodie (1994:89), cognisant and critical of the history of fanakalo, remarks that his respondents also said it ensured mutual understanding since "they were from different tribal groups and (their) languages differed". Complicating the one sided and historically locked view of fanakalo which takes away the agency of workers, Moodie further remarks that "they did not only speak fanakalo in the presence of managers but also alone". Tsimane (2011) who conducted interviews on fanakalo more recently also corroborates this assertion and argues that miners. He argues that while fanakalo continued to be seen as a language of oppression, workers also took "pleasure teasing and ridiculing one another in fanakalo, even as they spoke the same language" and also used it to "liven up their dull days by expressing themselves in fanakalo just to laugh at themselves… some took delight as they showed off their mastery". He goes on to argue that Mozambicans were 'envied' as they tended to speak fanakalo as if it was their indigenous language.[82]

In the townships, however, fanakalo was highly abhorred (Calteaux 1994), seen as degrading, unless used by 'foreigners' who could not speak isiZulu. The refusal to speak fanakalo or a language like fanakalo in South African townships continues to be widespread amongst young people as they associate it with subjugation and seen as undermining African languages

[82] Burling (2007:210) drew similar conclusions in his study of the use of lingua francas amongst Tibeto-Burma community. He argues that there was "profound fondness for it" and people found it "enormously liberating to use a poorly controlled language with other (2007:222)".

(Schuring 1992; Calteaux 1994; Patterson 2009). As a result of the negative connotations and some mines are in the process of making it redundant.[83]

Along-side the history of fanakalo and its contradictions as a language used to subjugate workers and also appropriated by workers for their own amusement, recently it has been used to forge solidarity, to lay claim to a collective worker identity. It is increasingly seen as "the language of hard work" used by union leaders to unite a diverse workforce (Chinguno 2013a & b and Alexander 2012) and as a distinguishing marker between insiders and outsiders, as I will demonstrate below. Chinguno (2013; 2015) also argues that the refusal by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leaders to use fanakalo when addressing workers marked a social distance. While the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU)[84] leader admitted to its historical complexities and contemporary usefulness. He argued "it's not a really good language but it's been there for years, so it's a means of communication, to pass the message across" (Alexander et al 2012:58). Mathunjwa, the AMCU president, acknowledged the politics of fanakalo, while also highlighting its functionality.

Embedded in fanakalo is the use of 'obscene' words[85]. Moodie (1994) talks about how mine language was "rough and boisterous" reflecting the rough work underground and also marking mining masculinity. With the entrance of women in mining the "roughness and boisterousness"

[83] English, according to Thwala (2008) seemed to be the preferred workplace language by over 89% of his sampled workers who are located underground. He argues that workers preferred English because they associated it with promotions and prestige. Burling (2007) who studied the lingua franca cycles also makes a similar point about the preference of English and associated prestige in his Tibeto-Burmese community.
[84] The new rival union which organises mainly mineworkers and rose to prominency during the 2012 strikes which engulfed the platinum belt in Rustenburg.
[85] Bourdieu's Editor, Thompson Introduction in Culture and Symbolism (1991:2) argues that "words are loaded with unequal weights, depending on who utters them and how they are said, such that some words uttered in certain circumstances have a force and a conviction that they would not have elsewhere... as signs of politeness , condescension and contempt.

of fanakalo and the construction of gendered, particularly feminine subjectivities, are seen as incompatible, as I will discuss in Chapter 7.

Finlayson 2004's work on women's language of respect can shed some light to this paradox. Using the Nguni concept of *ukuhlonipha*, which is to respect, she argues that in the Nguni culture married women were culturally expected to avoid using certain words, avoid certain areas in the homestead which are frequented by men or relating to the husband's family. This was done as a symbol of respect. She focuses on the conscious syllabic avoidance (the refusal by some women to use fanakalo or some words is interpreted by workers as ukuhlonipha, especially the Xhosa and Sotho men, because fanakalo is seen as a masculine language and thus inappropriate for women (respectable women) "to keep at a distance through reverence". While Finlayson's study was about Nguni languages, she also makes references to others such as Sotho where women could not use certain words out of respect for their in-laws and males.

In this thesis I acknowledge the violent geneses and historical deprecating use of fanakalo, but I also acknowledge the agency of workers and the ways they have appropriated fanakalo and are using it as "counter-hegemonic discourse", as "weapons of the weak" (Scott 1985; 2008), a "vehicle of protest" (Adendorff 2004:194) and to forge solidarity. I draw from Adendorff (2004) who concludes that fanakalo has two social meanings; a positive and a deprecating one. Deprecating because of its origins as a language used to colonize, to present 'others' as inferior and their languages as barbaric. The positive social meaning is that it enables workers not only to communicate but allows for expression of commonalities, to mark "solidarity with others and reinforce their interpersonal relationship" (Adendorff 2004:179), it is therefore a "boundary marker that is central to how citizenship and civility are defined" in the mines (Puwar 2004b: 77).

With the inclusion of women in mining, therefore, the rejection or acceptance of a mineworker identity cannot be divorced from the rejection or acceptance of fanakalo. Fanakalo is a tool or means of negotiating subject positions, gender performances and is strategically drawn on to claim or reject certain identities. The history of fanakalo and worker's current ambiguous relationship with fanakalo has not stopped workers from appropriating it and using it to mark or unmark, accept or subvert identities. Fanakalo, therefore, is key in how workers see themselves, in how they perform gender underground. It constitutes the underground discourse and is at the heart of gendered identities underground. Similar to bodies and spatial gender performances, fanakalo marks and constructs some as insiders and others as invaders. The question that remains then is, does speaking fanakalo, having what is considered a mining body and performing gender in ways seen appropriate in mining necessarily make one a mineworker? What are the invisible markers or boundaries of inclusion and exclusion? What would constitute inclusion in the case of women mineworkers? And, how might other practices contribute to changing gender orders and spaces.

3.9 Conclusion

The entrance of women in mining means that we can no longer see mines as exclusively masculine organisations or as spaces for only male bodies. Indeed, with the presence of women in mining mines have become a contested space, one which can illuminate the process of constructing gender identities, one which can also give clues as to how to disrupt certain orders, practices and discourses which reproduce inequalities.

The bigger question then remains how are gendered identities constructed in mining? When we break it down in relation to this study we ask, does the inclusion of women in mining necessarily mean that mining spaces have been transformed or at least reconfigured, that the masculine character of underground has been fragmented and weakened (Puwar 2004) and thus reducing inequalities between men and women underground? Put another way, are gender identities, specifically femininities, enacted in mining transformative or are they reproducing hegemonic masculinities and thus sustaining inequalities. Are women mineworkers perhaps occupying what Spivak (1993:60) calls the "impossible no" which she defines as when one is unable to reject a structure they intimately inhabit, and can only critique it, even though the structure does not serve their interests. Other questions that permeate throughout the thesis are: what kinds of femininities are invoked in different spaces and how do women understand themselves in light of these? What meanings do they attach to these gender identities? How do experiences within the workplace relate to their broader experiences in other social spaces with family, friends and community at larger?

These are questions I left unresolved above but attempt to address in this thesis using the above concepts as tools. The answer to these questions is not straight orward; it is nonetheless worth reflecting on them as they may provide clues on how the construction of femininities in mining materialises, how it can reinforce inequalities or where in the process of the construction of gendered identities one can intervene in order to address inequalities.

The tools unpacked above on the masculine history of mining, gendered organisations, masculinities and femininities, space, bodies and language, all important elements, help me make sense and conceptualise gendered identities. As a way of analysing how gendered identities are constructed in mining, in the chapter below I start by describing the setting(s)

where this thesis takes place. I introduce the women and attempt to locate them within their social and historical contexts; where they come from, how they ended up in the mines, how teams are constituted and what role the women play in teams and their occupations in these teams.

Chapter 4: The Setting

In Chapter 3 I reviewed literature relevant for the question I grapple with in this thesis. I started with the historiography of mining and how it excluded women and ended with more recent studies by feminist scholars that have sought to insert women back into mining scholarship. I then outlined my theoretical framework which draws from scholarship on masculinities and femininities, bodies, embodiment, spaces and language. In this chapter I give the contextual background, I draw the setting(s) and I detail biographies of some of the women. The biographical background is meant to give clues into women mineworkers' subjectivities.

4.1 Migrating to Rustenburg

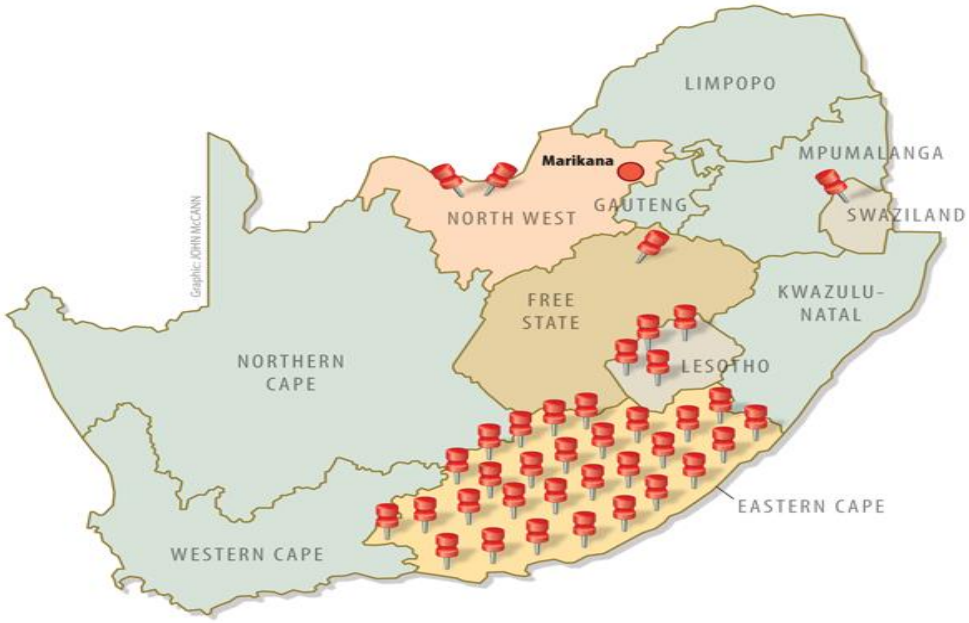
The research was conducted at a platinum and chrome mine in Rustenburg, a town in the North West Province, about 150km from Johannesburg. The mine has shafts in South Africa's Limpopo and North West provinces as well as in Southern Africa. In Rustenburg it has 22 underground mine shafts and 2 open cast shafts in operation, covering a distance of 12 985 hectares. At the time of the research, the South African shafts and refineries had 35 470 employees; 3510 of them women (9.9% of the total workforce). Of these, 7.4% were located in Rustenburg, my research site.

In line with regional trends, the mine employs both local and migrant labour with most local migrants coming from the Eastern Cape and Free State (see Figure 6).[86] Outside South Africa,

[86] Labour migrancy is different, from and should not be confused with, the labour migrant system which was an institutionalized way of "supplying labour regarded as cheap" (Alexander 2013: 611).

miners come from Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994; Bond 2013; Alexander 2013; Chinguno 2013; Moodie 2012; Sitas 2012).

Figure 6: Labour Sending Areas in Southern Africa[87]



4.2 The Home Setting

Most male mineworkers identified themselves as the third or fourth generation of migrants from their families to the mines.[88] While they had historical links through male relatives - fathers, grandfathers, brothers and husbands - female workers were mainly first generation of females to join the mines as mineworkers.

[87] Source: http://marikana.mg.co.za/. While the map depicts workers who were killed in Marikana in this case I am using it to illustrate labour sending areas.
[88] See Nite and Stewart (2012); Pillay 2013.

Most women mineworkers were from families and communities where the unemployment rate was very high. In some of the communities they came from, such as Diepsloot,[89] most people, especially women, are unemployed. In 2008, the City of Johannesburg estimated that out of 200 000 working-age adults as much as 75% of the population in Diepsloot[90] were unemployed. [91] Rustenburg, despite its mineral 'wealth', also faces a high unemployment rate.

The 2011 census found that Rustenburg, which has a population of about 549 575, has an unemployment rate of 26.4% and a youth unemployment rate of 34.7% (Statistics South Africa 2011). Despite mineral wealth and an economic growth rate of 3.5% in the Rustenburg local municipality, in June 2013 over 38 informal settlements were identified in the Rustenburg municipality (Ashman & Fine 2013).[92] Characterising these informal settlements is grim poverty, the absence of government services and limited basic infrastructure.[93]

In this context, the women mineworkers interviewed were, in most cases, the main breadwinners and directly supported more than one household, sometimes supporting as many as eight to fourteen people.[94] From interviews, there seemed to be minimal expectations on

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[89] The City of Johannesburg's Livelihood Study reported that Diepsloot is the 5th most deprived ward in Johannesburg, one of the poorest areas in Region A which included Ivory Park and Midrand (Johannesburg Poverty and Livelihoods Study 2008)

[90] Diepsloot is a migrant settlement outside of Johannesburg which began to develop in 1993 with migrants putting up make shift homes on unoccupied land. Together with Orange Farm it has the highest percentage of people (8%) without formal education (Johannesburg Poverty and Livelihoods Study 2008)

[91] http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6818:tapping-into-diepsloot-arts&catid=88&Itemid=266

[92] Some scholars have attributed the rise of informal settlements in mining towns to the live-out allowance given to workers who do not want to live in mine hostels. See Ashman and Fine, 2013, The Meaning of Marikana, Global Labour University, http://column.global-labour-university.org/2013/03/the-meaning-of-marikana.html See also a report on the state on informal settlements in Rustenburg http://www.thehda.co.za/uploads/images/HDA_Informal_settlements_status_North_West.pdf

[93] Water shortages are rampant in the North-West province http://www.polity.org.za/article/da-statement-by-chris-hattingh-da-leader-in-north-west-on-the-truth-about-the-mothutlung-water-crisis-15012014-2014-01-15 See also http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-21-brits-residents-to-march-over-continued-water-shortages

[94] See Facts and Figures document published by the Chamber of Mines, 2012-2013, 2013-2014

men, especially married men to care for parents (unless the parents were the caregivers of their children). Women on the other hand, especially single women, were expected to shoulder the responsibility of caring for elderly parents.

While women reported earning between R6500 and R7000[95] a month as general workers, and more as miners, all of them reported that their financial responsibilities as the sole providers in their families far outweigh their earnings (Bond 2013; James 2012). To supplement their income some women sold Tupperware ('high end' plastic home products), clothes from Johannesburg and Avon (beauty products) at work and in their communities[96]. Others joined *stokvels*[97], usually ranging in contributions from R100 - R1000 a month.

Stokvels and small businesses, however, are hardly enough to support these multi-generational households, especially for migrant workers (Bond 2013). As a result, most women rely on easily accessible and unsecured credit, micro-credit and bank loans (Mahlaba 1993; James 2015; Bond 2013; James & Rajak 2014), even in cases where there are two incomes. According to Bond (2013: 585), this easy access to unsecured loans "precipitated the (2012) Marikana massacre".[98] According to Kenny (2014: 176), "working class households now borrow to cover

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[95] This figure is difficult to compare to national standards since Statistics South Africa delineates these figures by race, gender, age, education, occupation, sector, province, and they also do cross-tabulation between these variables. For more information see http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P02112/P021122010.pdf and http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0100/P01002011.pdf .

[96] To sell Tupperware and Avon one does not need to have money upfront, however to buy and sell clothes and join a pyramid scheme one does need to put some investment upfront.

[97] Ally (2009:8) defines a stokvel as a revolving credit association. The women I worked with however, did not only use stokvels for getting credit, but also used them to save collectively or buy house goods. James (2012:26) definition captures both these elements of a stokvel, she defines them as "credit-granting savings clubs" or more formally they are known as "Accumulated Savings and Credit Associations of ASCRAs". Stokvels were based on trust, with no collateral required from the borrower (James 2012).

[98] Bond (2013) critiques what he calls the "super exploitative debt relations" caused by easy access to "unsecured credit" granted by both formal banks and microfinance institutions to mine workers. He points to exorbitant interest rates and other costs (such as legal fees) that the poor are charged which he argues sometimes amount to "three to 15 times the initial loan amount" (Bond 2013:582). He also argues that the debts and increased unsecure lending by microfinance institutions were at the centre of the Marikana massacre and it

basic expenses, to the extent that household consumer debt repayments account for up to 40 percent of monthly expenditures". In the case of mineworkers this is compounded by the fact that workers are supporting multiple households.[99]

Consequently, these social and economic conditions and lack of secure job opportunities in other industries brought them to the mines. They also continue to influence how women imagine themselves and how they negotiated their identities at work and as mineworkers.

4.3 The Mine Setting

Diagram 1 is a cross-sectional representation of underground, outcrop and open pit mining.

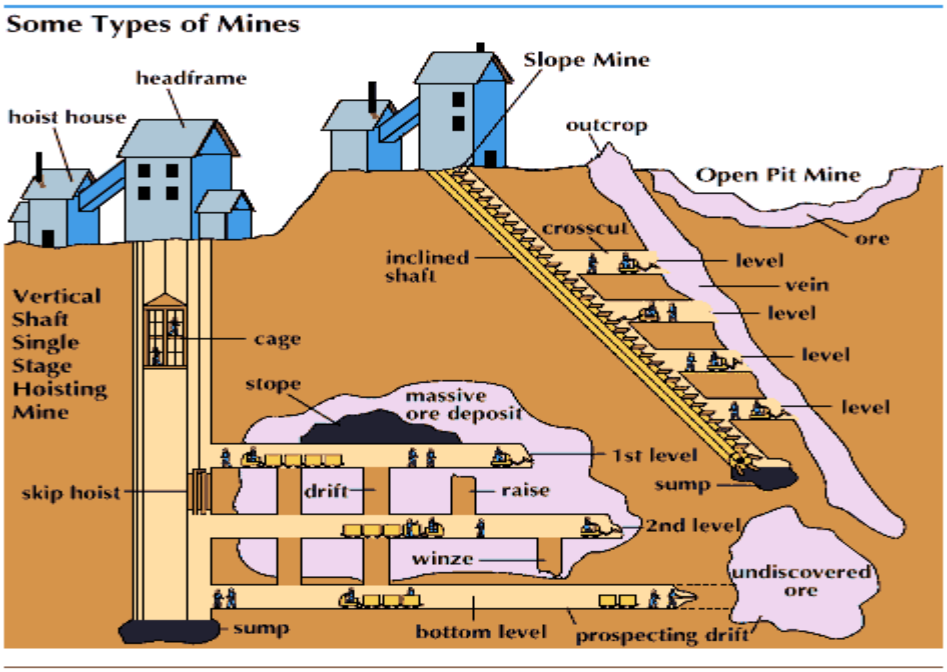


Diagram 1: Visual representation of mining [100]

amplified the underlying conditions of uneven and combined development (Bond 2013:581-582 see also James and Rajak 2014).

[99] See Nite and Stewart (2012) on worker's personal account on debt and supporting multiple households.

[100] http://kids.britannica.com/comptons/art-53672/The-diagram-depicts-a-cross-section-of-three-different-kinds

The total mine workforce (in the Rustenburg operations) includes departments such as the mine hospital (nurses, physiotherapist, doctors etc.), the refinery, engineering and other departments as indicated in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4: Rustenburg workforce by department and location

Department	Surface/Office	Underground	Grand Total
Capital	23	496	519
Engineering	448	4905	5353
Finance	150	-	150
Human Resources	111	-	111
Mining	7	19900	19907
Mining Occupational Health (Hospital)	102	1464 [101]	1566
Grand Total	**841**	**26765**	**27606**

At the time of the study, surface employees (see Table 4) made up a small portion of the total workforce, the majority of the workers were located underground. Of those located underground, the majority were male and in the mining department (see Table 5).

[101] This figure includes underground safety representatives

Table 5: Rustenburg workforce by department and gender #

Department	Female	Male	Grand Total
Capital	76	443	519
Engineering	901	4452	5353
Finance	65	85	150
Human Resource	36	75	111
Mining	627	19280	19907
Mining Occupational Health (Hospital)	393	1173	1566
Grand Total	**841**	**26765**	**27606**

 # Table 5 includes employees directly employed by the mine and outsourced workers.

When gender and race are taken into consideration, the numbers reflect apartheid, which deliberately kept women out of underground occupations and reserved low-skilled underground jobs for African men (refer to Table 6). [102]

[102] The representations in Tables 4, 5 and 6 only capture the general occupational categories, for a specific and comprehensive breakdown of underground occupations by gender, race and job scale as per the Paterson grading scale refer to Appendix J 1.

Table 6: Employees by Paterson Bands [103]

Category	Total Employees	Mining Employees	Total Females	Mining Females	% Mining	% Total 2012
Top management	106	65	14	3	4.62 %	13.21 %
Senior management	656	409	130	41	10.02 %	19.82 %
Middle management	4942	4443	538	255	5.74 %	10.89 %
Skilled	5991	5309	805	471	8.87 %	13.44 %
Semi-Skilled [104]	23775	23685	2023	1977	8.35 %	0
Total [105]	**35470**	**33911**	**3510**	**2747**	**8.10** %	**9.90** %

Table 7: Employees by sex and race

	White	African	Total (Sex)
Female	15	2083	2098
Male	695	24813	25508
Total (Race)	710	26 896	27606

African men were the majority of the workforce, as was the case during apartheid, and they mainly occupied underground positions. Every shaft had over 80% of its compliment in underground positions as shown in Table 9. What is not reflected, however, are the informal work reallocations that workers engage in, where underground workers informally moved themselves, or were moved by their supervisors, to work on surface (Benya 2009).

[103] See Appendix J 2 for a list of all the females in service by occupation.
[104] In 2008 mines used to differentiate between semi-skilled and 'unskilled' workers, however in this particular mine the unskilled category has been abolished and all the 'unskilled' are now categorized as semi-skilled (see Benya 2009:17-19).
[105] These numbers include shafts in other provinces.

Table 7: Workers by shaft and work location

Shaft	Surface/Office	Underground	Grand Total
A*	105	3736	3841
B	1	12	13
C	39	1321	1360
D *	37	936	973
E	43	869	912
F	26	573	599
G	44	1504	1548
H	61	2576	2637
I	98	4164	4262
J	106	2780	2886
K*	99	3684	3783
L	51	1096	1147
M	8	2	10
N	67	1916	1983
O	37	974	1011
P	19	622	641
Grand Total	841	26765	27606[106]

** Represents the shafts I worked in.*

Those who were informally relocated to surface were mainly women. However, as shown in Table 10, in the mine records they reflected as underground employees. Therefore, the

[106] These figures are draw from a data set sourced from the Rustenburg shafts, they exclude the refineries and shafts in Limpopo province hence the totals come to 27 606 as oppose to the 35 470 I mention above. Additionally, these figures only reflect workers who are directly employed by the mine and excludes subcontracted labour.

Rustenburg shafts where I conducted my research formally had 1837 underground women workers and 24 928 male workers. I conducted my research at shafts A, D and K.

Table 88: Women by shaft and work location

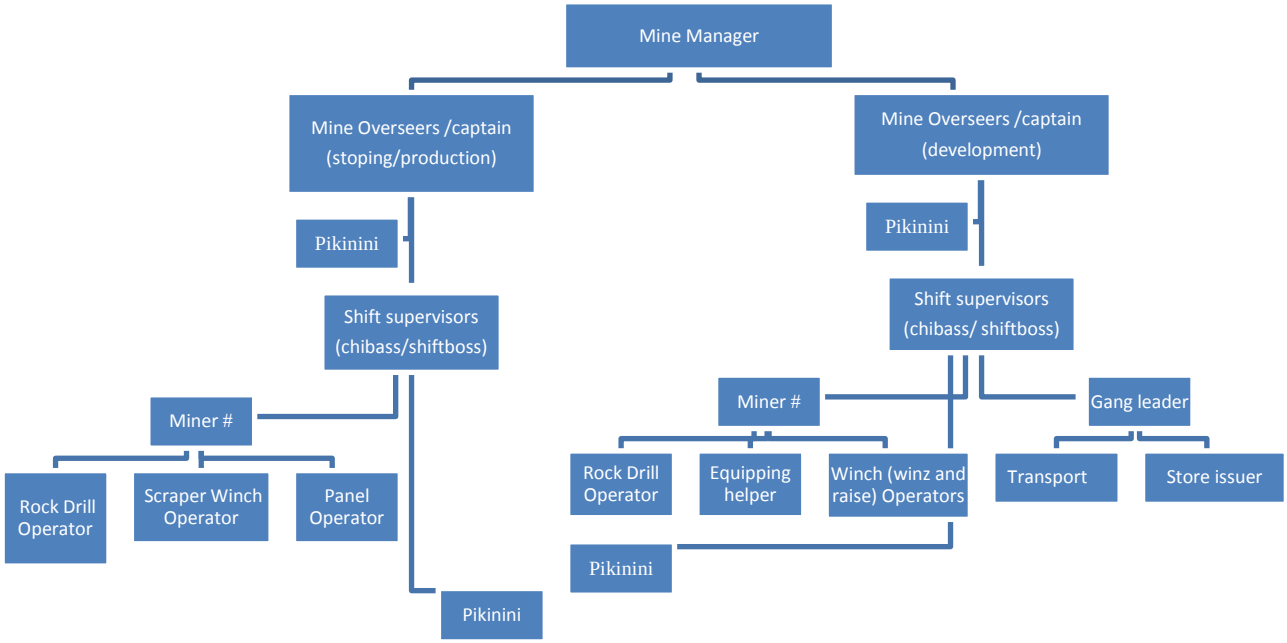
Shaft	Surface/Office	Underground	Grand Total
A*	39	273	312
B	-	1	1
C	12	71	83
D*	11	49	60
E	9	55	64
F	7	57	64
G	10	62	72
H	17	172	189
I	33	274	307
J	39	181	220
K*	27	261	288
L	11	74	85
M	4	-	4
N	25	197	222
O	12	39	51
P	5	71	76
♀ **Total**	**261 (12.4%)**	**1837 (87.6%)**	**2098 (7.6%)**
♂ **Total**	**580 (2.27)**	**24 928 (97.7%)**	**25 508 (92.4%)**
Grand Total	**841**	**26 765**	**27 606**

4.4 Underground Gangs

The size of the teams I worked with ranged from six to fourteen members. Each gang was led by a miner[107] and comprised of three to six rock drill operators (RDOs),[108] two to four scraper winch operators [109] and three to six panel operators. [110] Nightshift gangs also had team leaders who worked closely with the miner. As depicted in Figure 7 below, on the development side[111] there were also equipment helpers[112] and store issuers.[113] Some production gangs[114], which is my focus in this thesis, had one woman working either as a scraper winch operator or as a pikinini who works as a general support worker who works very closely with either the shift supervisor or the miner.

[107] The miner is the main appointed person who loads drilled holes with explosives and connects the blasting cables. A miner also oversees the smooth running of operations in their sections underground. They ensure that workers are working according to government legislation and mine standard and that teams meet production targets set by the mine, while promoting safety.
[108] The mineworkers who drill at the rock face
[109] Winch operators, using winch machines connected to scrapers, are responsible for pulling out the mined ore, removing it from the rock face to the tip, so that it is transported to surface. See Appendix C1, C2 & C3 for images.
[110] Workers, who lash and load ore, clean the working face and help the miner to connect the blasting cables. They also install support (temporary and permanent) sticks and ensure that there is proper ventilation in the panels.
[111] Underground mining has two stages; the first stage is 'development' and the second stage is production. During the development stage the workers mine out the entire rock in order to to get access to the mineral being mined. Once 'development' has been done, crews are then able to start the production stage which is targeted excavation in that mainly the orebody or the mineral bearing part of the rock is removed.
[112] Equipment helpers are also known as Pipe, Transport and Ventilation (PTV) helpers. They install water and ventilation pipes underground, they also transport equipment and material between different sections, this is especially the case in the development side.
[113] Store issuers' main responsibility is to issue workers with working material and equipment.
[114] The gangs which mined out the ore bearing rock and are located in the stopes on the face.

Figure 7: Underground Occupational Hierarchy [115]



Source: Organogram drawn up by author
 # denotes that sometimes miners worked very closely with learner miners

During apartheid pikininis were called '*bass*-boys' (Moodie 1994). By 1976, pikininis were already an informal occupation, but every white miner had one and they worked as a "personal servant underground" to circumvent mining regulation (Moodie 1994: 63, 69). They were later promoted to team leaders. According to von Holdt (2000), they were the black buffer; a barrier between white supervisors and black workers, and were thus the "eyes, ears and hands" of white supervisors. The current role of pikininis, therefore, is derived from this history. The difference, is that the pikinini occupation is now solely informal and predominantly done by women, but it still involves 'assisting' a 'superior' both above ground and underground. Most

[115] Adapted from one drawn up by Benya (2009:71)

pikininis are formally hired as equipment helpers, some as winch operators or locomotive drivers.

My study focused mainly on two occupations underground, the scraper winch operator[116] and miners. Out of the total 27 606 workers in the Rustenburg shafts, 6925 of them were scraper winch operators; 88 of them women and 6837 men. There were 1566 miners, the highest occupation underground, of these, 1516 were men and 50 women. These figures are based on the daily register obtained from the mine. As indicated above, other positions were also filled by women, and the numbers for these are included in Appendix J1, J2 & J3.

This was the setting of my study. In the thesis I focus on the experiences of some of the 1837 underground female workers. To concretize the setting I now shift to the biographies of some of the women. The biographies are a bridge between individual and social realities. They capture personal experiences which are a lens to broader workplace and social issues.

4.5 The Biographies: Meet the women mineworkers

Just as I have set the context of the place and given background on the historical context of mining in South Africa, I now turn to present short biographies of some of the women I worked and lived with. The voices of the women mineworkers are the core, the heartbeat of this thesis

[116] Scraper winch operators are called mechanical stope scrapers in old mining literature. Moodie (1994:47), who gives background on the origins of the winch, argues that in South Africa's gold mines the mechanical stope scrapers were introduced in the 1930s. While there has been advances in the winching technology, not much has changed in how the winch is operated.

and I use them as my point of departure. Presenting the biographies first is my attempt of engaging with the question of "who speaks".[117]

In this study, in an attempt not to erase or re-inscribe hierarchies (Alcoff 1991), I try to offer space for the women to speak. As a result, I rely heavily on quotes to capture their experiences and their lives underground and outside of work. The biographies give the context and are at the centre of why and how these women came to mining and their experiences at work and of work. The histories captured in the biographies not only tell us about where the women are from, their families and the jobs they have done before, but are also a window into their subjectivities; they give us a glimpse of these women's' "sense of self over time" (Kelan 2009: 38). The women reflect on and draw from past experience to make sense of their present realities.

Starting with biographies allows us to locate the women within specific socio-historical contexts (Roberts 2002; Bryman 1988). It is these experiences (both at home and at work) and the role they play in the construction and negotiation of gendered identities which the thesis revolves around. What is striking about their narratives are the ways in which the present is in continuous engagement with the past and undoubtedly intersects with their future aspirations. There are instances below where the women draw our attention to the ways in which their class position intersects with their gender and racial identities in mining. The power of their biographies is that they show the agency of these women who tend to be homogenized and thus silenced under the trope of "women in mining". While the biographies are specific and

[117] See Gasa (2007a); Amin and Govinden (2014) and Alcoff (1991) who critically reflect on "The Problem of Speaking for Others" and Gayatri Spivak's (1988) essay which asks "Can the Subaltern Speak".

therefore ungeneralizable, they illuminate certain trends and interesting complexities, points of convergence or commonalities that cut across their subjectivities.

The nine biographical notes below were drawn from life history interviews and conversations with the women concerned and their teams. The majority of the women interviewed and those I worked with were between the ages of nineteen and forty-five. Contrary to the mine policy which says that mines should hire local labour within a 60km radius of the mine, some women were from places as far as the Eastern Cape (close to 1000km from Rustenburg), Taung (over 400km from Rustenburg) and townships in Johannesburg (about 120km away). Others were indeed from the surrounding villages. Their occupations ranged from store issuers, pipe transport and ventilation (PTV) assistants or equipment helpers, scraper winch operators and miners, with the last two being my main focus.

The biographies below outline the main actors I refer to throughout the thesis, and they focus on two periods: before and after the women started working in the mines. I selected these women because they provide us with an entry point to some of the key issues I discuss in following chapters and they put a spotlight on nuanced complexities negotiated in the process of identity construction. In later chapters I attempt to capture some of the key events that women narrated, and I reflect on these events and link them to women's subjectivities - their ways of seeing, feeling, thinking or making sense of the world they make and inhabit.

4.5.1 Tee

Tee was 29 when I interviewed her, the last born of three girls. She was raised by her grandmother in Mabeskraal, a village 80km north of Rustenburg. In 2000 she moved to Alexandra Township in Johannesburg to join her mother and complete high school. After Grade 12 she studied computers, but "did not get a job for a long time". Then Tee did a call centre course: "they said they were going to give us jobs... there was no job". Later she did "a beauty course because I love nails and those things... like doing hair, massage, make up…" Despite these trainings, Tee remained unemployed until 2009 when she finally got a job in Randburg: "I was making tea, filing papers sometimes and other small jobs". She left the job after a month because she earned little, "spending more money on transport to get to work than myself".

Both her mother and older sister are domestic workers in Randburg, Johannesburg. Tee's mom earns R100 or R150 a day and she uses this to support the whole family. Tee's other sister passed away in 2005 and left behind 2 children who are now supported by and live with her mother. Due to scant money in the household Tee says she used to get boyfriends who were able to support her financially: "...I always had to have a boyfriend who could afford to take care of me," she said.

Tee had a baby in 2009 but the baby passed away a few hours after she gave birth. She was engaged to the father of the baby at that time but they broke up a few months later: "…I am glad I never married him because he was abusive". A few months later she met another man who "owned a spaza shop in Diepsloot...and a 15 seater taxi". She told stories of how the man used to physically abuse her:

> "… that man used to *bliksem* me (beat me up) … one time he beat me up so much I went blind, I could not see, I could not even walk… he threw me on the gate and banged my head on the poles until I bled...I still went home with him...When I woke up the following day my face was swollen and you could not even tell it was me and he was angry that I looked ugly... people just stood there and watched him beat me… people were scared of him…"

When asked about whether she ever tried to leave him, Tee responded: "Nooo, how could I? How could I leave him, *ke ye kai* (and go where)? My mother's one room shack where we all struggled? He was my ticket to everything and I was unemployed…he gave me money".

Tee left him after she got the mining job: "I left, I packed my bags and left him. No one believed me when I left". Tee says the job saved her life: "I don't have to worry about what I'm going to eat or wear... I don't have to depend on boyfriends". She used to earn around R4000 but since the miner's strike[118] it has increased to R7000 or R7800 if they meet production targets. Tee uses a significant portion of her wages to support her mother and grandmother.

Tee currently lives in a bachelor flat in a yard with her new boyfriend at a village near the shaft. He pays for food, which costs about R1000 a month, and she covers the rent, which costs R750-800 depending on electricity, and she also replenishes whatever is finished. In her yard there are twelve other rooms that share the water tap and an outside toilet with her.

[118] See Chinguno 2015 for a detailed account of demands made by workers and their gains during the 2012 platinum strikes. Being explicit on the demands made in Tee's mine would give away the mine where I conducted this research. Important to bear in mind is that wages in mining are relatively high compared to other sectors.

Aside from finances, for Tee the mining job meant, "…I have self-respect … I get respect from others because I'm working, you see". What she relentlessly asked, however, was what one could do with a winch operator certificate and experience, alluding to the fact that outside the mine it had little use.

4.5.2 Bonang

Bonang is originally from Johannesburg and her husband, a human resources official at the mine, belongs to the Royal Bafokeng Nation.[119] They have three children aged 13, 8 and 3. Bonang's mother was an administrator and she grew up with her grandmother in Tembisa, a township east of Johannesburg. She moved to Rustenburg after she got married a few years ago and worked at Sun City, part time, as a waitress but left because, "they did not pay those people… there is a lot of racism there… they tell you to fuck off, you darkie…we were all casuals …they did not pay over-time and when you ask for your overtime (money) they used to say 'you can go, there are many people by the gate waiting for your job".

After she gave birth to her last born she decided not to go back. She then decided to look for a job in the mines. She is an equipment helper, but because she works for a contractor and not directly for the mine, she ends up "doing everything". Bonang's husband refused to help her get a job in the mines: "he says the winch will cut off my head…he was a winch driver before working as HR but his head was never cut off, I don't know what makes him think my head will be cut off. Maybe my head is stupid and his is clever".

[119] It is a chieftancy which holds the title deed and thus controls over 40 platinum rich farms in the North-West Province. It is also known as the BaFokeng Tribal Authority, see Capps 2010.

Bonang hates working underground: "my friends in Jo'burg laugh at me, it is as if I came to Rustenburg to fail, they think mines are for people who didn't go to school, people who are not *clevaz*[120] (clever). It's embarrassing... I feel like a failure, a complete failure".

According to Bonang it is no use joining a union because she's a contractor and, "they do not help contractors"[121]. She says she is working underground temporarily, until she gets something better. She says all she ever wanted was an office job, to be a bookkeeper or clerk.

She earns about R4000 a month and R4800 when her gang has reached their production targets. Most of it goes towards household expenses and her childcare. Her husband, much to her anger, only contributes R700. She, like many other women, reported being left with very little money after paying all her debts and buying food.

4.5.3 Maria

Maria is a 37 year old mother of two boys, 17 and 9. Maria was born in Thlabane, a township in Rustenburg. Her father was a mineworker and her mother a homemaker. She spent her childhood with her grandmother in Mabeskraal, a village 80km North of Rustenburg and moved back to Thlabane when she was seven to start school. When she was 19 she fell pregnant. After she gave birth her father made her a deal that if she breaks up with the father of her child he would take care of her son and raise him as his while she goes to look for a job

[120] A *cleva* (clever) in this context means more than being book smart, it means being street smart, being shrewd
[121] The word contractor is used interchangeably with subcontractor. These are workers who are not working directly for the mine but for labour brokers. For examples and descriptions of how this happens in mining see Sikakane 2003; Bezuidenhout 2006 and Benya 2008.

away from Rustenburg. She took the offer and moved to Johannesburg where she worked at a Caesar's Palace and Casino as a dealer. In 2003 she fell pregnant again and in 2004 she moved back home because her new-born son was sickly, and, "I had no one to take care of him. My shifts were always changing at the Casino… we decided that I should stay at home and take care of him…my fiancé was supporting us".

Maria's fiancé died a year later forcing her to look for employment to support her two sons. "At that time the mines were seriously recruiting women, so I went. At first I was a *msele* girl (equipment helper)… end of 2009 I went for training and now I'm a winch operator…I don't like underground, but I need the money".

Maria reported lying to new boyfriends about what she does in the mines. She says she is working as a human resource officer because she is ashamed of being seen as a *malayisha,* a derogatory term for underground workers.

Before joining the mines Maria said she was quiet and polite and had a soft heart (*muhle ntliziyo*) but she has since changed. She says the words used underground, "pierce your heart and change you… after a while you stop caring about them, they stop hurting you and you learn to use them back or ignore them but your heart gets hard all that time, it gets hard…" The machines and equipment used underground, according to Maria, harden the body muscles and the heart: "As you lift the hard handles of the winch, your heart changes and stops being good".

Maria does not see the need for a union because, based on her experience, she says, "they don't care about women… they are useless... they say no, 'it's not sexual harassment *mfazi*, they say these men are being nice to you, they are appreciating you when they touch you like that'

…touch your bums". Maria was also not happy with the unions saying that they have become "too political" and care less about workplace issues. While she was not happy with her experiences at work, she also said that: "mining is my life, without it I cannot support my kids". Before the strike Maria earned R4500 and, "now it is R7500 after deductions". Maria spends her salary mainly on food, her transport to work and settling her credit from furniture stores.

4.5.4 Zodwa

Zodwa is a single mother of two from Vryburg, a town 350km south-west of Rustenburg. Her children live with her parents. Her father was a mineworker and her mother was a domestic worker. She first worked as a security guard in Phokeng: "the wages were low and I worked 12 hours shifts...patrolling in the wind and sun". She started working in the mines in 2006, first as an equipment helper and later as a winch operator. She earns more than double what she used to earn as a security guard, and she sends most of it to her parents in Vryburg. She says that she has been operating the winch for a more than 5 years, but that they do not want to promote her or send her for training because they do not want to lose her. They call her an honorary man, a "madoda straight". While Zodwa likes her gang, she is also resentful especially towards the miner, saying that he is the reason she has not been promoted as fast as other women.

Zodwa lives at a village about 15km away from her shaft. While the working times in her previous job were long, in mining she says they are dangerous because she has to leave the house as early as 3:30am because transport is scarce and it is a bit of a walk to the bus stop from her flat. She says she has been followed by strange men before and has also had to deal with drunkards, "especially on week-ends and month ends when people have money". Two

months before I concluded the research Zodwa was facing criminal charges for killing a young boy who had been monitoring her movements for months.

It happened on a Saturday, early in the morning when she was on her way to work between 3:30 and 4:00. Two boys tried to rob her and one of them had a knife. They wanted her to hand over her handbag and cell phone. She refused. They insisted and the one with the knife moved closer, threatening to stab her. They started fighting and she managed to grab the knife and stabbed him. He died instantly… She went back to her shack, changed her clothes and rushed to another bus station and hitchhiked her way to work in time for her shift.

Zodwa was then arrested and later released on bail paid by some of her colleagues. Since this incident a lot has changed in Zodwa's life. She had to relocate to another village to hide from the villagers, some of whom have been insisting that the local chief chase the migrants from their village. This incident affected her work. After the incident she almost caused a fatal accident at work when she operated the winch without giving the appropriate signals.

4.5.5 Minnie

Minnie is 28 years old and is married to a pastor. Together they lead a church, and their main focus is the youth. Her husband is a trainer at one of the big banks and, according to Minnie, he earns well. Before working in the mines, Minnie worked as a part-time personal assistant (PA) of a director at the Department of Justice in Pretoria. After getting a full time job in the mines, she left her PA job. Prior to that she was unemployed.

When she first met her husband she says she was too ashamed to admit that she works in the mines underground: "...I was a youth leader at that time, so they respected me at church... I was embarrassed that they will think I work with drill sticks, so I lied... I made it sound fancy, like I was working in the offices on surface". When she started working in the mines she was an equipment helper underground and was later asked to be the shaft ventilation officer's assistant, a pikinini. Being a pikinini means she spends most of her time on the surface and she assists the ventilation officer: "...when she goes underground I carry the equipment bag for her".

Disgruntled by her marginal status at work, Minnie usually evokes her (higher) status as a pastor's wife. She says she is different at home, church and at work. At home her husband usually complains about the language she uses and her 'independence'. Minnie is one of the women who belong to the "white union", the United Association of South Africa (UASA). She says she likes it because they do not focus too much on, "ANC politics... they care about us... when there is a strike they send us (WhatsApp) messages to say we must not come to work".

4.5.6 Katlego

Katlego is a 35 year old miner. She is married and has no children. Her husband is an administrator at a company that, "supplies mines with big mining machines like Load Haul Dump (LHD) loaders". Katlego's father was a mineworker and her mother was a homemaker. After completing high school in Polokwane, 350km north of Rustenburg, she moved to Pretoria where she worked as an administrator for a taxi association. She started as an equipment helper underground, became a winch operator and later trained as a miner.

Currently, Katlego holds the record for being the most productive miner between level 9 and level 15 underground. For that, her team like her. They say that since she joined their team they have gotten, "*muhle bonus, zonke lomanyanga*" (good bonuses every month). To reach the monthly targets Katlego says she pushes herself and pushes her gang: "*Mina mlungu, ena, ena malayisha...fanela ena joba, azikho lo munye ndlela...mina goba ena... mina miner(a) lapha mgodi, mfazi lapha khaya kuphela... mina madoda lapha job*" ("I'm the boss,[122] he is a lasher...he has to work, there's no other way... I make them work hard... I'm a miner at work and a woman at home...I'm a man at work". To make sure that her stope blasts daily after drilling, she blasts by hand using her lamp and a telephone cable. All her successes are attributed to God and Church; they both play an important role in Katlego life, "every Sunday I go...No I don't believe in ancestors... I'm a miner because of God not ancestors".

While a respected miner at work, at home her in-laws mock her because she does not have children. Katlego gives financial support to her parents and some of her younger siblings and their children with her money. She also helps her uncle who took care of her when she lived in Pretoria before she started working in the mines. While she was not open about the exact figure she earned, she indicated that it was more than R10 000 and the rest was bonus. Bonus varied depending on production targets.

[122] Mlungu means 'white person, it is also used to denote a person with power. Historically it was exclusively used to refer to white people since they held power, however, in post-apartheid South Africa it is used to refer to both whiteness and/or to power.

4.5.7 Shado

Shado is a 33 years old miner. She is married to a businessman, "he owns a photocopying and printing shop in town," and they have a 12 year old daughter. Shado's mother, a former domestic worker, got married to a white farmer when Shado was in high school, and Shado was sent to live with her grandmother and her mother's siblings. After her mother got married, "things got better at home", but she still had no funds to further her education. Her male cousin encouraged her to go for training in Carletonville to be an on-setter (cage attendant). She worked as an on-setter for years and changed occupations to work underground. In 2006 she went for a blasting course and was later appointed as a miner. She was a National Union of Mineworkers member previously and found that the union was, "useless and didn't assist me when I had a case, accused of killing two of my RDOs underground".

In the previous mine where she worked she was amongst the best miners, and she emphasises: "not a best woman miner, but a best miner… production was high and my stopes were safe". This was until one Saturday afternoon when she was not at work and there was an accident that claimed the lives of her two RDOs. She says:

> "I wanted to go to town that Saturday… I asked my shiftboss if I could leave early and he agreed…I asked the miner in the stope next to mine to keep an eye on things and to make sure that the blasting cables were connected properly… I didn't write it down and I didn't ask him to sign anything, so I did not appoint him, that's what we call it here. It was a 'gentleman's agreement'... My guys were barring loose rocks at the stope and there was a fall of ground… a huge rock just fell, there was no sign, no warning, it just fell… two of my guys died… It was my stope and I was not there, I had not (legally) appointed anyone on my behalf…I was responsible".

Shado went for hearing. She says:

> "When I walked in there during the hearing, the wives, young, young, young women wearing black clothes… their fathers were all sitting there… I had to answer all their questions… they made it sound like I did not care about these guys... I loved those guys, I was devastated too, it was hard...the last question the investigator asked me was 'tell these people, tell Mrs …who killed her husband… look at Mr … and tell him who killed his son' I looked at them, Asanda, it was terrible. Then the investigator looked at me again and said 'tell them who killed their sons' I just broke down".

Shado was then fired and blacklisted from mining. She could not get a job as a miner for a long time and was only hired by a contractor at the end of 2010. In 2011 she got a job at this mine.

She says it was her ancestors who kept her going: "God helps everyone, He helps the ancestors and it is the ancestor do the work for you… God is the overall person and the ancestors look out for your family... so when you involve them you are guaranteed a response because they are *for* you". For Shado getting a job in mining as a miner after being blacklisted was testimony to the power of the ancestors and as such, she respected them as much, if not more than God. She argued that:

> "In my case God had to look out for others, like the families of the two guys who died and make sure he hears their prayers and answers them too.[123] Their prayer is

[123] For more reflections on worker's conceptions of God and her or his role in their lives see also Nite and Stewart (2012).

> against my prayer...Let's just say their prayer is… fairness… they lost their breadwinners so why must my family have a breadwinner…so God has to listen to them and also to me… but my ancestors only listen to our family… work on my behalf, they try to see my side".

Since the death of her two gang member she says she's very careful and does not take chances. Shado was very popular with workers, they liked her because, "she openly disagrees with supervisors if they are wrong, she stands up for us". Shado too was not open about her exact earnings, "over R15 000" was her response and, "sometimes close to R20 000 if we meet targets". While not the main contributor at home financially, she kept all the bank cards and was the main financial decision maker.

4.5.8 Tshire

Tshire started working in the mines in 2009, first as PTV and a year later she asked to go for training to become a winch operator. Now she is a learner miner. Tshire is married to a shiftboss at the training centre. They are from the same village in Taung. They have a 13 year old daughter who stays with her mother, a teacher, and visits them during school holidays. Tshire's father died when she was a child and since then her maternal uncle (a mineworker), has been the father figure to her and her two younger siblings.

At first her family was not supportive when she said she wanted to join her husband in Rustenburg and work in the mines, especially her uncle who told her he would rather die working hard than see her go down a shaft. They eventually let her work in the meantime because she had been unemployed for a long time, "there were no jobs in Taung" and her

mother could not afford to send her to college. After working as an equipment helper and later as a winch operator Tshire was given a chance to join the Learner Miner Programme to train to enter the highest occupation underground. She was afraid of telling her uncle who has been working in mining before she was born: "I'm sure he wanted to be a miner too, but he never got the opportunity. So I was uncomfortable telling him about this... He was *so* happy for me… my other friends' husband got angry…he has been a *malayisha* for a long time, not even a winch operator."

Tshire is a union member, her uncle encouraged her to join the NUM, but she was not active. She said: "You do not know these men, when they are on strike they do not know anyone, they can kill you. If you ask a wrong question in meetings you can get killed, so why participate in strikes or meetings if you can get killed for just asking?"

4.6 Conclusion

From the above, it is apparent that women came to the mines under different circumstances and their experiences at work, relationship with the teams, the union and supervisors were all different, yet very significant to how they understood themselves and their role in mining. Tensions of being a woman and working in the mines are palpable in their narratives. In the chapters that follow I examine the themes brought up here.

Chapter 5: Spaces in Mining

5.1 Introduction

Thursday the 30th of August 2012

My alarm rings, it is 3h30 in the morning. I've hardly slept and I'm as tired as I was when I went to bed last night. I get very anxious at night; I worry about being late and missing the cage, I think about accidents, what if something happens while we go down the cage, what if rocks fall while we're inside the stope, what if we don't meet production targets and my team does not get bonuses, what if I cause an accident with the winch, what if, what if... I get out of bed, get ready for work and leave my room to the kitchen block... It's now 4h20 and outside it's 5 degrees Celsius. I'm supposed to be underground by 5h15, if I don't leave soon I'm going to miss my cage and be late for work… At least I'm no longer working on the levels that have to be underground by 4h15am as I did in June and July, the coldest months in Rustenburg. I leave the residence and I pass through the town of Rustenburg at 4h40. Around the taxi rank it is buzzing with activities, the women hawkers who target mine workers are already here selling food and warm beverages. After passing town I join a township which links me to the shaft, along the road are a number of men and women mineworkers hitch hiking.

Just before the shaft, on both sides of the road, in English and fanakalo, are boards written different mine rules; the five golden rules of barring, the mining

and engineering platinum rules. At the bus stop scores of men hop-off the mine bus and women descend from taxis. As you swirl through the first gate, starring at you are boards declaring the latest statistics; fatality free shifts, accidents, deaths and production targets.

A long row of hawkers follows, workers are buying fat cakes as they pass, or steamed bread, boiled eggs, or a sephatlo[124]*, a popular cuisine with mineworkers. These usually go with a frozen 500ml fizzy drink, peanuts, sweets and or gum. Facing the workers as they buy are more sign posts about safety, "We believe we can mine without any accidents, please help us achieve this" a few feet down another one reads "We believe we can mine with zero injuries". On top of some of these signs are small posters advertising traditional healers who can "bring back a lost lover, help those who are bewitched, protect your job, help you win the lottery or promotion at work" and some are advertising good places to do an abortion. There are also funeral notices and details of departure points for buses transporting workers to the funerals (see Appendix K1, K2 & K3).*

Before you enter the second gate a mine sign board reminds you of the company slogan, following that is another reminder that no person under the age of 18 is allowed on mine premises and the last one with bold wording "NO HIGH HEEL SHOES OR SANDALS PERMITTED ON PREMISES". It is another world now.

[124] A *sephatlo* is a hollowed out loaf of bread filled with fried potatoes, archar (pickled spicy vegetables), polony (processed meats) and cheese.

Photo 1: A mine sign board located at the entrance of the shaft[125]

The shaft is ringing with energy, people are rushing and running; to the office, to the change houses, to the cage station, to the lamp house. There is a lot of activity, a lot of energy and this is what it looks like every day. Except two weeks back on the 17th of August when the mood was sombre, deafening silence, after the 34 mineworkers were killed in Marikana... I clock in on the second gate, pass the mine offices, pass the manager, and supervisor change houses. I rush quickly and clock into the women's change house. I am welcomed by a heap of

[125] I have removed the name of the mine.

clean overalls on the floor and 3 large dust bins with dirty overalls, and then it's our lockers, showers and toilets. I find some women from night shift showering, some scrambling through a pile of clean overalls in their row looking for theirs.

I quickly change to my PPE and 'mgodi (underground) clothes'; my first layer is my mgodi T-shirt, and mgodi leggings for 'protection' (or to fit in, or to follow the morning ritual), the second layer is my long socks, my overall, hard hat, gumboots. I finally put on my knee pads and belt and then I exit the change house to go to the lamp house. I hear the announcement on the intercom that it's the second last cage to my level (level 23), so I quickly run to get my lamp, I test it and put it on, rushing towards another gate that leads towards the cage yard. There are more funeral notices, Union (AMCU) announcements and sign boards about personal protective equipment (PPE). I swipe in one last time and I am inside the waiting place or should I say the 'pushing place' that takes me to the cage yard. I put my card away here because it's easy to lose it, luckily, the last gates which allow you access to the cage yard are controlled by cage attendants.

Just as I arrive I find workers from my level screaming at the cage attendant who has just repeated the announcement that this is the second last cage to our level. "How could she do that when there are so many of us to level 23?" they ask. I look around for Tee, the woman I'm working with, all the men start screaming at me, thinking I'm skipping the queue. I don't see her, or any woman for that matter, there aren't many of us anyway. I go to the back of the queue

and wait for the last cage to my level. Workers are talking about blasts, targets, rocks that need to be supported and unfair shift-bosses. The attendant remotely unlocks the entrance to the cage yard and those in front push through. After about what seems like a hundred workers, she remotely locks the main entrance… they all walk to the different cage decks, top, middle and bottom decks. I'm still at the back, it does not even look like the queue has moved from where I'm standing. She opens the main gate again and this time I run, I skip the queue, embarrassed but I've done it before and I know how to ignore their screams when they catch me.

Finally I make it through the main entrance to the cage. A notice stares at me "BEFORE YOU ENTER THE CAGES YOU MUST WEAR THE FOLLOWING PPE" (See Appendix L). When I get to the cage gate, I approach the door of the bottom deck, all the decks look full already, that means I have to push the guy in front in order to fit. As I turn to face the front so that I can use my back to push, a few more workers are also charging towards the same deck and they push as soon as they get to the door. The ones inside the cage tell me to thayiter, it's fanakalo for holding yourself tight. I try to thayiter but the cold whistling wind at 5h10am in the morning gets the better of me and I start to shiver, even more as I enter the cage not knowing what awaits me underground. In order to thayiter, you have to freeze your whole body, no movement, get a grip of every muscle and pull it in but don't sense it. When you've done proper thayiter, you don't feel the cold, you stop sensing anything external, and you fight to be still. To thayiter is more than tightening your body or making it still, it goes all the way to your mind, it's like you physically and instantaneously 'grab' your mind,

like you want to suffocate it, but without actually suffocating it but through calming it and then instruct it to make still your body. This was the only process I had followed the few times I managed to thayiter. There are what looks like 50 or more of us in my deck, another 100 or so in the two decks above this one (Appendix M).

The cage acts as a bridge between the surface world and the underground world. It takes workers down or up the shaft. Even though the cage is a space that is inhabited temporarily, in passing, it still has its own rules and exists independently of either the surface world or underground world. It is its own space.

From the mouth of the cage I find myself pushed all the way to the back. I wonder if other women ever get used to the cage. After so many months I still get shocked. It's a rude awakening. Just when you think the cage cannot take any more people, you're suddenly pushed all the way to the back, somehow, and 15 to 20 other workers make their way in, at that time you are floating, your breasts squeezed between hard hats and your feet dangling in the air, you cannot feel your boots, it's dark inside and you cannot even see who is standing next to you. You cannot switch on your head lamp, it's an unwritten cage rule and if you ignore it, the wrath of all the fifty or so workers in your deck will be on you, so you're safe dangling in the darkness.

This suspended pose becomes your position for the next 2-4 minutes as the cage gate is shut aggressively by the attendant. As the cage violently moves from surface to your level underground, you feel every bump it makes against the

wall, the whistling cold wind coming from the ventilation shaft next to you. My lamp is switched off, hands crossed around my breasts because male workers tend to target breasts when they want to touch us (women) in the darkness of the cage.

All this discomfort prepares us for the dungeons that await us. Suddenly the cage motion is slow and light rays slip in, slowly we stop in our level, level 23. We're underground now. The cage door opens and the first group of workers are pushed out, as my feet drop down, I try to reach for my head lamp to turn it on, but those behind me are already pushing me out. I'm lucky I make it out without tripping and falling. If you fall, everyone shouts at you because you're taking up their walking space and slowing them down. I then join the scores of workers who walk the haulages to their different work places and stopes.

In the waiting place (male) workers quickly change into their torn overalls and plastic bags, some start eating and as soon as everyone is done changing, in our cliques we leave for the stope, climbing the long and steep staircase and to make it easy I count them, re-starting after every twentieth step. There are 118 of them so I make up for the 'missing' two by including my first and second steps into the centre line where the tip is located. From there some workers start assessing the place we blasted last night. It's called 'early entry examination'. We complain about the night shift that did not fix the mtiya-tiya (ventilation curtain) after the blast. Tee and I slow down to examine our winch and fill in the check list… we catch up with the rest as they enter the stope where the crew will drill for the next 8 hours. On the right hand side is the madala sites (an old

already mined out place) where we are prohibited to enter. The stope, the centre line and the tip is where I will be for the next eight hours or more; toiling, navigating the rocks, lashing, winching or barring them down (Appendix N1, N2 & N3). It is 5h50am and we start with our daily drill.

Surface and underground are the main spaces at which most of this thesis takes place. Using these spaces (including the cage), and adopting a gender lens, I provide a phenomenological account of the ways in which each space is implicated in the construction of gendered identities. Below I present a nuanced, theoretically informed reading of the alterations that workers engage in as they move between different spaces. I do this by looking at activities, relations and discourses in each space and the ways in which workers, particularly women, inhabit these spaces and exercise their agency as they negotiate them and make sense of themselves as 'space invaders'.

5.2 Conceptions of spaces

The doing of gender "boils down to how we occupy space both alone and with others" (Bornstein 1994:27).

The focus of this chapter is on the dialectical relationship between space and gendered identity. I show how underground identity and space reflect and produce each other. As noted in the theoretical framework, there are different ways of understanding spaces and scales. However, most scholars agree that spaces and scales are socially constructed (Lefebvre 1991; Harvey 2000; McDowell 1999, 2000; Harvey 2000, 2004; Cassirer & Smith 1992; Marston 2000;

Marston, Jones & Woodward 2005; Swyngedouw 2004; Brenner 2005; Howitt 1998, 2003; Massey 1994, 2004).

My conception of space is in line with the social constructionist argument and I emphasise that spaces are products of and produce social relations. Through narratives I show how spaces in mining are constructed and lived in gendered ways. Implied in my discussion is how spaces reflect and produce power relations and how power is differently formulated and articulated in fluid ways in each space.

Below I illustrate that the construction of gendered identities does not happen at an abstract space called 'the mine', but at specific sites such as on surface, in the cage and underground. While they "underpin and presuppose the other", each of these spaces has their own cultures, rhythms, centres and poly-centres (Lefebvre 1991: 14) which influence the construction of subjectivities. While less emphasised, but implied nonetheless, different rules or ways of being operate in different spaces and thus produce the space, subjectivities and define the spatial culture.

In this chapter I see spaces as relational and relative; they are neither neutral backgrounds in identity construction (Grant 1998), nor "passive surface or a tabula rasa that enables things to 'take place'" (Merrifield 2006: 107). Rather, spaces and subjectivities are in perpetual dialogue; they influence, reflect and produce each other (Walker 1998). Using the surface, the

cage and underground[126], I illustrate this dialogue and the ways in which it changes with times of day.

5.3 Surface

Workers refer to the space above ground as 'surface'.[127] It is where the offices and the change houses are located. In the offices are mainly the decision makers, those who have power; the managers, supervisors, engineers, accountants and administrators. Some of the administrators on surface were workers who had been taken from underground either formally, such as pregnant women and workers (men) with disabilities, or informally as is the case with pikininis, the informal assistants. The pikinini occupation does not 'exist' in the mine books, it is an informal occupation. Those who work as pikininis assist supervisors with administrative work and sometimes personal duties.[128]

Men with disabilities worked on the surface and they were seen to represent a marginalized masculinity without physical prowess (like those who work underground) or economic capital (like others who are on surface). According to Krieger (1983: 8), there was "an air of exile about the removal to surface work". Their masculinity was viewed as 'lacking' since they had physical limitations. While men with disabilities had no choice but to work on surface, some younger men from the local communities, usually better educated than their counterparts, wanted to be on surface precisely because there was minimal physical work. The surface,

[126] I write about the 'home' space separately. I separate the production and reproduction spaces analytically in order to map their 'logics', not to reinforce the artificial divide. In fact Massey (1996) talks to the blurring of boundaries between home and work. And from narratives by women the two spaces are indeed interconnected and both implicated in gendered identity construction.
[127] To remain true to the words used in the mines instead of 'the surface' I mainly use 'surface'.
[128] See Moodie (1994) for a historical account of pikinini.

therefore, was mainly occupied by those who embodied institutional power and those who were not directly involved in manual labour.

The surface was associated with surveillance by the organisation: the formal bureaucratic rules which are rooted in the Weberian notion of rationality, hierarchies and efficiencies. Underground was seen as resisting or reconstructing that order; driven by informal rules (Moodie 1994). The discourse on the surface was informed by institutional policies and workers have minimal influence over them. Underground, however, a different and informal order is re-established by workers and it is influenced by masculine subtexts and undertones (Puwar 2004; Kelan 2009). As such, some women preferred to work on surface.

Women preferred the surface as it was among the few spaces where they felt visible and useful. Nonzi, for example, said that when she is underground her colleagues do not want to work with her; they remove her from the stope. As a result she felt useless (see also Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout 2010). On surface, however, she said she felt "needed" by her shift supervisor. Babalwa, Gontse and Lorna made similar remarks, as did many pikininis. Hence they preferred to be located on surface. They all pointed to their educational qualifications (which were higher), their administration skills and ability to write technical reports as reasons for being useful on surface.[129] Nonzi said:

> "…if I'm on leave or away for a few days, I find everything (administration work and plotting graphs) waiting for me, he does not know how to use the computer. The other day he called me to open (MS) Word for him… after he

[129] Yao (2006) also makes similar observations on levels of education for Chinese female mineworkers.

> finishes typing, he calls me to save and print the document, it's just clicking, but he does not know how to do it and I'm tired of showing him now".

Babalwa also recounted stories of her supervisor who, "does not know how to write reports or plot clear graphs with nice clear colours... not pencil for everything". Gontse said several times that she has had to go into meetings with her supervisor,

> "to do the power point for him… and explain because he knew *fokal* (nothing) in that presentation. I did it by myself, from the graphs, everything and I made it look nice…He didn't even know where to press, he just knew the bottom line that we met the targets, but he couldn't show it on the computer, step by step for each crew".

Women felt useful in their informal pikinini jobs. In such accounts there was a clear gender element. Women's jobs were to 'assist'. The gender script for surface was familiar and was seen as closer to femininity. Women, therefore, did not have to negotiate their identity or adopt masculinity as Gontse emphasised on several occasions. Surface was a 'space' where they could be visible as women who were working, but not necessarily as mineworkers. According to women surface was respectable and prestigious compared to working underground since those who worked on surface were associated with power.

According to focus group discussions with women mineworkers, working on surface meant being located in, "a clean office with aircon and computers, even if it's not yours" said Nkele, and "not underground with dirty ore" where feminine respectability would be undermined (Kenny 2008). On surface they could wear their clothes and not the masculine work-suits that

hide their femininity. In explaining surface, Nkele said that there was "life" on the surface: "there is no hard labour on surface, only fresh air... real sunlight...when you are on surface you can do anything… you don't have to worry about the hard-hat not fitting your new hairstyle". Surface, therefore, represented what she aspired for and how she saw herself.

Bonang, comparing how surface and underground workers were treated, said: "...surface workers are treated nicely, if they are underground they don't touch anything… if they want to come back to surface, they just call a cage, have you ever seen a special cage coming to fetch an underground worker... they don't queue… It does not happen". Bonang went on to ask: "who cares about underground workers? People care about big people, not *malayisha* (labourers)". Surface workers had a legitimate voice, one which could summon a special cage underground. They had a status and were respected.

Some women also reported experiencing 'less' sexual harassment on the surface compared to other spaces.[130] According to Tshire this was because, "there are rules of surface … underground it's all hidden". Women therefore said they were 'safer' on surface though not completely insulated, as demonstrated by Nelisiwe's narrative in Chapter 7.

Some women contested and rejected the status ascribed to working on the surface arguing instead that the surface marginalises and sexualises women.

[130] In Nite and Steward (2012: 173) women who worked on surface during apartheid reported experiencing as much sexual harassment. One interviewee for instance, MaMathabo Mohloua said "…they gave us real trouble. When we passed, they touched our buttocks and other funny things like that…the police had to escourt us at the gate. When we go on our own, they might even have taken one of us into their rooms and do funny things. I can say these things interrupted our mobility… I felt scared of getting hit on my buttock like that, which some persisted in doing. I felt scared all the time…"

> "All they do is assist and assist, when they are going to work for themselves and stop assisting…do you think they will ever be promoted. Tell me, if you had to choose between promoting a pikinini and promoting a winch operator underground, who would you promote... They are wasting their time assisting" (Katlego)

Some women, therefore, did not want to work on surface because of the marginal and typically gendered role played by women on surface as assistants. Others rejected the surface because of surveillance. During focus group discussions women remarked that:

> "everyone is watching you on surface…the supervisor is there all the time…underground you just do what you need to do…you can rest if you are done… underground sleep is so nice, but you cannot do that on surface…on surface you have to act busy all the time... you cannot rest because the MO (Mine Overseer) can walk in anytime..."

The presence of others, especially supervisors, was a form of control, it shaped their behaviour (Salzinger 2003). Others added that women, "have to look nice all the time when you are working on surface or they judge you". The constant "super-surveillance" (Puwar 2004: 11) and gaze on the surface, or "super-vising" (Salzinger 2003: 60), required that worker act in accordance with mine rules, the deep-rooted techniques of power and that women conform to certain standards of femininity or risk being judged (Ngai 2005; Salzinger 2003).

Women, therefore, conceived of the surface in multiple and contradictory ways. For some it was a space where they could enact femininity and for others it was a space where women were

marginalized and sexualized. Worker's conceptions of surface influenced the ways they inhabited it, how they saw themselves on the surface and the femininities they enacted. One of the prominent spaces on surface that shaped or influenced women's subjectivities was the change house.

5.4 Change house

Workers changed from their regular clothes to work uniforms in the change house. Before the legislated inclusion of women in mining there were no female change houses; they were only built after women started working underground. The presence of women, therefore, influenced the physical makeup of the shafts. While the change house was temporarily inhabited it had a significant effect on workers' self-conceptions. During focus group discussions workers reported that inside the change house, they change from the 'real', 'other' or 'home' self to the 'underground self'. It was, where the underground self was manufactured; where workers took on the identity of a mineworker through the change of clothes and actions.

Photo 2: Change house with access controlled turnstile gates

5.4.1 "Once you put on the hard hat, your head changes"

Workers reported that once they wear the PPE they stop being themselves, they become 'alert', 'rough' and 'don't care'. Lorna reported that: "I start to swear as soon as I enter here". Supporting an assertion made in focus group discussions, one RDO said: "when you put on the *stof* (uniform) you change…and once you put on the hard hat, your head changes...now you are getting your head ready for work". According to workers, their 'heads' changed because the "hard hat presses against your brain, you think clearly, like regular people...you don't think the same way when you are wearing your hard hat... you think differently... the hard hat changes you...it's like it clouds your mind". Some stated that they become "stubborn and do not listen". Workers explained that their hard hats "block this (surface) noise…and helps me look ahead…I

do not pay attention to anything that can distract me once I put it on". The hard hat was therefore useful in their process of transitioning from the surface to the underground self. It was this blockade of external noise which enabled workers to 'shift gears' and be more attentive to the rocks and the underground world. [131] From discussions with both male and female workers, it was the change of clothes that helped them 'switch off' the surface self, "prepare" for their hard and dangerous work underground and transition to their other selves (Krieger 1983: 50).

The hard hats, Madala said, had an effect on their thoughts, their actions and how they viewed themselves. He remarked that: "when you put in on, you are not a father now, *wena malayisha, wena hayi khona camanga kalondlela yalo khaya. Lapha khaya mina soft, but lo skati mina faka lo makarapa, mina shintsha…ena shinsha mina*" (you are a mineworker, you cannot think the same way you do at home. At home I'm soft, but when I put on my hard hat I change…it changes me). Putting on hard-hat and uniform, therefore, helped workers mentally prepare for underground. (In Chapter 6 I will return to the gendered effect of overalls on bodies)

In addition to the hard hats and general overalls, what also facilitated the transition to the underground self for women was the change of underwear. Minnie and Nelisiwe, along with other women, indicated that one had to change to the *mgodi* (underground) panty, "you CANNOT wear the same underwear on surface and underground". The exact same words were to be repeated by women in one-on-one interviews and in all my focus group discussions upon enquiries about the change of underwear. The more intriguing part about the change of underwear was that it was usually from a very "lacy", "sexy" (their own words) panty to a very ragged one known as *mgodi* underwear. After shift, the *mgodi* underwear was washed, left in

[131] For more on talking rocks see Leger and Mothibeli 1988 and Leger 1992.

the shaft, and never taken home. In focus group discussions women reported that the process of changing from underwear A (after their morning bath at home) to underwear B (which went along with underground uniform) and later to underwear C (after their afternoon, post-underground shower) was a way of preparing the self for the spaces they navigate.

The distinction and changes between underwears was not violated by women. They explained that each underwear represented a different self and changing between them was their way of distinguishing between and easing from their *real* and their *underground* (*mgodi*) selves, a way of distancing and marking their feminine bodies from their underground bodies. Underwear B was a way of un-gendering their workplace (underground) bodies while changing to underwear A/C enabled them to claim individuality and feminine respectability, it gendered their bodies and re-sexualized them. Hence, underwear had to be "lacy and sexy… not the Jockey[132] *magogo* (grandmother) panties". Since underground was seen as 'polluting' femininity, putting on a 'nice' clean pair of underwear was a way of cleansing and re-claiming the self.[133]

Changing underwear, therefore, was an important ritual in preparing the self and producing a different self, which corresponded with each space. It was not only hard hats, overalls and underwears that aided in the transition to an underground self, but the way the body was also summoned to 'perform' in ways considered proper for underground.

[132] An underwear brand that the majority of them considered unflattering.
[133] The idea of pollution is taken from Mary Douglas's Purity and Danger (1966).

5.4.2 "You *have* to change how you walk… you change how you think as you clock in"

The process of transitioning to an underground self, one miner argued, required that workers change as they clock in at each turnstile. He said: "pay attention to the way we talk, we talk rough when we get here…At home I'm a father… listen to our language…the words we use once we cross over to the cage yard". I had also noted some of these changes in Gambu, a miner I usually ran into and walked with from the parking lot to the change house. From my diary entries on different days I wrote about the changes I noted. While he was usually very warm and conversational in the parking lot, after clocking into the shaft yard he usually left me and walked right ahead of me. On the few occasions I caught up with him, Gambu did not seem keen on continuing with our conversations.

For a long time Gambu changed between what I thought was a nice old man to a 'different person'. While walking with him to the stope one day I strategically brought up the subject and asked him why he leaves me after we clock in. He replied that he needs to rush when he gets in and prepare for underground. Later he elaborated on the ways he rushes and prepares for underground. He said: "…when you get here you cannot walk the same way…I walk fast… it helps to prepare my mind…I pace up… you *have* to change how you walk… you change how you think as you clock in from the bus station to the shaft... sometimes even the things we talk about…"

Another miner, Sithole, said:

> "… pay attention to us you'll notice that we are usually tense in the morning… I see it with my guys, they are all tense. They don't talk much, the mood is not happy or playful…it is part of what we do to get our minds ready, it's a way of

> focusing your minds... We are preparing ourselves for the work underground... work underground is dangerous, you have to be mentally prepared … when you prepare yourself your blood warms up, gets stronger…it changes and gets ready for underground...once you are underground... you cannot think of going back, you cannot, you are fully set to start work… When you get to the cage yard we also change the way we act…it is not soft, sweet language like on surface. We use rough language…we don't really care about people here, it's the rock, production… *mina hayi khona khathala*" (we care less).

He went on to say: "If you cannot change, underground will be difficult for you... So you'll be lazy the whole day, you'll *swaya-swaya* (move about aimlessly) and not be productive… you just won't be in right frame of mind..." Sithole remarked that the preparation process, the transition, intensifies at each space, slowly workers harmonised their habitus "to the flows of the field" (Puwar 2004: 126).

Gambu reiterated that: "I have to be fully present… and forget (or leave behind) the things that happened at home or on surface and focus on underground". While other workers only said it would be difficult to cope if one hasn't done the mental preparation, Gambu said: "if I don't manage to do that I can get injured". Each of the preparatory steps in each space were important and skipping one meant the next step would be compromised, and ultimately the underground self not fully realized, and this posed a danger to workers. At the change house, therefore, one had to make the mental preparation and start to transition to another self.

According to Puwar (2004: 126) for one to learn these embodied spatial practices, they have to be close to the expert, the "virtuoso", who then teaches you how to "play the game with ease,

grace, assurance, familiarity and cadence". This set of practices, however, are mitigated by one's gender. For a lot of women to get an 'expert' to teach them was a challenge since they were not trusted as real mineworkers.

Katlego was one of the few exceptions. She argued that she learnt to act like a mineworker from her first miner who was later promoted to be her shiftboss. According to Katlego:

> "…he told me if I were serious about being a miner I had to change my ways…we became good friends, he taught me so much…we walked together from the cage to the stope, *yhoo*, he walked so fast…. he got angry if he saw me dragging my feet… you get to the stope and start working, no rest with him… he is the one who taught me how to blast… he was serious about production…all these things, I learnt from him; how to give orders to my gang, he used to tell me how to speak (project my voice), not like I'm scared but like I'm the miner… I do things the same way as him…"

Katlego was therefore taught how to play the game with ease by an insider (Puwar 2004; Lande 2007). Not all workers, particularly women and recent recruits, successfully made this transition and Gambu noted that it is because they want to hang on to their surface selves: "when you come here you have to forget about yourself, you have to just think like a miner, forget your family…and women are always thinking about their children… thinking about home…they get here and look around and the rocks and get scared..." These were indicators of someone who had not made the necessary changes.

Entering the shaft yard, putting on a hard-hat and *mgodi* underwear and walking and talking fast were daily rituals before going underground that enabled workers to distance their surface

selves from their work (*mgodi*) selves. They altered worker's ways of seeing, being and doing. As a result, workers could sometimes ignore or register hazardous situations as part of the underground culture. Madala and several other workers reported that workers who do not do the transformation from their surface selves tend to bring their 'own ways' of interpreting events underground, and thus it becomes difficult to be productive underground.

The change house (and other spaces on the surface), therefore, was a 'liminal' space, (Turner 1967; 1969); a space where workers' sense of self started to 'dissolve' or become undone. At the change house workers were therefore 'liminal subjects' (Ngai 2005). Similarly, Moodie's (1994: 82) workers reported of a state where they were "not fully human". So the change house was a state and a space where workers transitioned from one identity to another and assumed different identities.

While workers emphasised the hard-hat as one of the symbols used to transform the self, in a study conducted by Moodie in 1976 workers referred to a blanket. They said that they put on 'another blanket' when crossing the Calendon River into South Africa. This was their way of preparing themselves for the "new world, the new work, and new life in the flat plains of South Africa where there was exploitation and inhumanity compared to the life they knew back home" (AIM 1976: 12). Taking on another blanket was their way of bridging the rural identity and mine identity the AIM (1976) study argues.[134] Mineworkers from Mpondoland also performed similar rituals to prepare themselves for mine work. Moodie (1994: 30) argues that: "at dawn the youthful migrant washes his body in the cattle byre with a special 'medicine of

[134] The rigid line drawn between rural and town identities, or mines, has been criticized by some scholars in Anthropology, noting instead that workers do not necessarily have identities one for each space, rather, they are negotiating spaces and choosing between identities as long as they have the cultural resources and can enact the identities they choose convincingly and effectively (see Bank 2011 and Ferguson 1999).

the home' (*ubulawu*), invoked his father and his ancestral shades, took up special food for the journey prepared by his wife or mother, and left without entering the hut". In both accounts Moodie notes the transition between home and the mines; between the rural migrant self and mine self, he focuses on spaces and rituals outside the mine gates.[135]

My account builds on Moodie's insights. Because I looked at women, a group that is considered 'outsiders' in mining- "space invaders" to use Puwar's term (2004)- allows me to demonstrate that the ceremonial shifting of identity between home and work is far more complex than Moodie suggests. I am able to capture the multiple and fluid iterations of this transmogrification from home to different spaces in mining which include multiple sites on the surface, inside the change house, down the cage, and between the surface and different spaces underground. The 're-coding' of identity at these spaces often leads to what is known as a 'mine self' or a different 'self'. How one manages or fails to 'manage' the self-alteration process was associated with risks, accidents, productivity (or lack thereof) and these had consequences for one's inclusion in the teams but most importantly, it had implications for their subjectivities. This then suggests the relevance of feminist scholars who can interrogate the 'workplace' as a multi-dimensional space of power and relations (McDowell & Court 1994; McDowell 2004; Puwar 2004).

5.5 The cage

The cage was a necessary bridge and vehicle between surface and underground. Most importantly, it seemed to be a vehicle towards an underground self. I will illustrate this below. While it was inhabited for a few minutes in a day, the cage existed as a space in its own right.

[135] For an account of rituals performed underground by Bolivian male mine workers see Hoecke (2006).

It had its own repertoires and orders about gender practices and discourses and these facilitated the transition to an underground self.

Cages were usually divided into two or three decks: the bottom deck, the middle deck and top deck.[136] During peak hours in the morning and afternoon each deck had over 50 workers at on it at a time instead of an average of 30.

Photo 3: Workers going inside a cage with three decks

[136] Workers had preferences in the cages; in the morning they preferred the bottom deck saying the early morning wind does not blow as hard and they reach underground quicker and thought it safer. In Krieger (1983), however, the bottom deck was associated with superstitions about dead. Miners for a long time believed that those who ride on it on a Monday morning could die. In the afternoon some workers preferred the top deck saying it was about the thrill of seeing the natural sunlight first, knowing you are safe while those in the bottom decks still lurk in darkness.

The high number of people meant that workers pushed to get in and pushed when inside to make space for themselves. To breathe properly, at times, you had to harmonize your breathing with that of the person next to you. A cage ride, depending on the depth of the shaft and stops made, usually took between two and four minutes. The pushing inside the cage served as a wakeup call. One also had to be very mindful of their bodies and their movements when approaching the cage. When inside the cage, to survive the pushing, one had to learn to *thayiter* until the cage doors were closed. This was essential for maintaining your position and getting your mind ready for underground.

In additional to *thayiter*, inside the cage all head lamps had to be switched off, even though by law they were supposed to be kept on. No lights were 'allowed'. While some women did not want to switch off the head lamps to protect themselves from harassment men reported that switching off the head lamps prepared them for underground, it was part of their ritual. In an informal conversation one miner said: "it's easy to make the transition *from your surface self to your underground self* when it's dark'. They found the light disturbing and uncomfortable as they prepared for underground. The darkness helped in getting their minds ready and it helped acclimatize their eyes for the dark underground world. Gambu said it was easier to adjust and to transition to the underground self and to "leave fears" behind in the darkness than in the light. Switching off the head lamps therefore was an important part of the liminal stage, it helped them 'access' their underground selves.[137]

[137] See Nite and Stewart 2012 for more on cage sensibilities

Other rules concerned how workers entered the cage, such as walking in reverse. According to interviews and informal conversations, walking in reverse was enforced after women joined the mines to minimize inappropriate touching and harassment inside the cage. The ways in which that space was inhabited, therefore, changed in order to accommodate the concerns of the new 'bodies'. Furthermore, to minimise touching, women had informally designated spots inside the cage; right behind the door or around the walls avoiding the centre because according to women, "that is where a lot of pushing and touching" took place. Women reported that when they were in the centre of the cage they were not only accidentally touched by men, but were intentionally fondled and had their breasts squeezed.

During a focus group discussion Nkele said: "I hate the cage… they touch you and you cannot even turn to check who touched you...it's dark and we are all pressing against each other". Minnie said: "it's as if they target your breasts when they touch you". Women reported that inside the cage they feel like 'things', it was an objectifying space where the 'touching' was normalized and sexualized. Relaying a cage incident where she was the only woman, Bonang said:

> "It was in the morning and the cage was full, full, full, Mazembe was behind me and a lot of other people around, but he was right behind me. As people were pushing to get inside Mazembe screamed *iyooo, ena vukile, ini loyinto mina enza, iyooo* (You've awakened it, what do I do now). Everyone laughed in the cage but I was soo embarrassed because I could feel it (private part), it was really up. The whole 4 minutes going underground he was groaning, *iyoo sisi iyoo, yoooooo, yooo, yooo, ini loyinto mina enza, iyoooo.* He did that until we got underground, and everyone was laughing the whole time, and I couldn't even reach for my lamp to check or turn my head, it was full full".

During discussions several women also reported exiting the cage and finding their back sides wet, "with their white stuff...I think he took his thing (penis) out and just used my back side to relieve himself" said one woman during the focus group discussion.[138]

The cage did not only prepare workers for underground, but did so violently for women. Some women remarked that the way they were treated in the cage served as a daily reminder of *their* place, both figuratively and literally. As a result, inside the cage they stayed in their places (in the corners or sides), tried not to disturb the order and kept quiet. The treatment they received inside the cage, therefore, manufactured certain subjectivities.

Equally, conversations that took place inside the cage reflected power and gender dynamics and prepared workers for underground. On one hand conversations, especially about domestic fights, "help to get it out of your minds before you start to drill" said Gambu. On another hand, they reinforced the gendered power dynamics because women were not encouraged to participate in most of them and at times they were explicitly discouraged. They did not embody power and authority and thus did not have the "right to speak" (Bourdieu 1991: 8). Sometimes men talked about their sexual prowess, physical fights at bars, physical altercations with 'disrespectful' partners. Close to the weekends and month ends cage conversations were dominated by money, banks, bank account options, bank charges, killings at beer halls, which beer halls to avoid, sex, reaching production targets and bonuses.

[138] See also Nite and Stewart (2012:294-297) where a woman recounts similar experiences.

Lefu distinguished between morning conversations and afternoon conversations. Morning conversations, he argued, were preparatory, "*ena lungisa thina for ena lo mgodi*" (they prepare us for underground) and afternoon conversations were celebratory. Morning conversations were mainly about the previous days' work activities, tasks to be accomplished for the day and accidents reported. There was, however, avoidance of topics relating to death underground. In the afternoons there was a lot of joking and pushing around. In these conversations a shared sense of masculinity 'necessary for underground' was evoked (Reskin & Padavic 1994; Puwar 2004). The conversations were not only gendered and reflected gender power, but they also produced certain subjects who knew their place, were ready for underground and could cope with work and dangers, meet production targets and avoid accidents.

The rough language, the pushing and shoving all represented a contrast from surface norms. These tensions were at the centre of the negotiation of identities. The practices and discourse in the cage marked a shift from a space directed by formal rules, to one directed by informality. For women it was a cross-over from a world which tenuously included them (Puwar 2004) to a world where they were 'invaders', where their abilities were doubted and their 'vulnerable' female bodies seen as 'improper'. Additionally, the further from surface one went the less power management and formal orders had. Starting from the cage and more so underground, workers wielded more power; they were the authors of the 'moral orders', and enforced their own informally negotiated ones.

5.6 Underground

The underground order workers sought to enforce can best be described as one where workers creatively reconstructed part of the formal orders to suit their (gendered) interests and enable

them to be productive (Wright 1994: 17). It therefore overlapped, competed and sometimes contradicted surface orders (Moodie 1994).

Underground was a distinct space, both physically and in character. It was hot, humid, dangerous and with the persistent possibility of death. Based on the preparations done in the spaces above, workers remarked that their identity on surface was distinct from their underground identity.

The space itself was distinct. It was made up of many places: the haulage (the passage way), the waiting place (a shed-like office), the bank (where workers wait for the cage), half-level (a space to hold meetings underground), refuge bay (an emergency safe house), *madala* site (an already mined and disused section) and finally the stope, which is where drilling and blasting takes place. It was seen to embody masculinity. Men inhabited the stopes with a sense of entitlement and they naturalized their 'right to occupy' the stope and exclude women and men with disabilities (Skeggs 2004; Puwar 2004).

Some spaces underground such as the haulage were seen as gender neutral or even non-existent or silent at times. For example, the half-level space existed mainly on Wednesday mornings during the compulsory safety meetings. Likewise, the bank, where workers awaited the cage, was 'silent' in the mornings as workers only used it as a passage way. In the afternoons, however, it was a hive of activities, sometimes workers spending as much as 2 hours in it.

While there were changes in spaces between different times of day, there was also a longitudinal spatial reconfiguration and differentiation noted. Between 2008 and 2011 there was a marked shift in the ways workers saw the different spaces in the mines. In 2008 most

women saw themselves as outsiders in all spaces in mining (Benya 2009). In 2011 and 2012, however, women carved out spaces for themselves on surface and in some spaces underground such as the store rooms. The exclusively masculine character of some spaces was transforming. The masculine practices and discourses in some spaces underground were contested and gender power negotiated.

Take for instance the half-level space where meetings were held. In 2008 mainly men spoke during meetings, in 2012 women occasionally spoke and at times were even invited to speak and given recognition, not howled at like before. Similarly, in 2008 removing protruding rocks or shovelling ore in the haulage was seen as mine work and thus men's work, and men often volunteered to do it for women (Benya 2009). This had shifted in 2012, 'work' done in the haulage, including shovelling and barring down rocks was seen, at best as easy work and thus women's work or not 'real' men's work or mine work and at worst as simply 'making safe' and thus not even work in the mining sense (I elaborate more on this below).

Again, in 2008 the word used to refer to workers at meetings in the half-level space was *madoda* (men) or *basebenzi* (workers) which is not an entirely inclusive expression in the case of mining since a worker was previously always a man.[139] In 2012, however, in most spaces it had shifted to *madoda nalo mfazi* (men and women) and occasionally *basebenzi*, but not exclusively *madoda*, except for the stope where workers continued to use *madoda*. The discursive shift was an indication of spatial shifts and power contestations by workers. It resulted in reconstructions

[139] Kenny (2004) also notes a shift in the use of this term in Retail. She argues that the term *basebenzi* was used in the 1980s to distinguish workers by race and rank, it thus excluded whites and managers (Kenny 2004). Later, however, with increase in casualization and subcontracting, retail workers of all categories use *abasebenzi*, a term that remains emotive, to refer to their own group. In Mexican maquilas Salzinger (2003:68) notes the use of the feminine pronoun *todas* to refer to all workers and thereby "effectively negating the presence of the men in the room".

of boundaries of who was a worker underground. It challenged the masculine exclusivity of some spaces and signalled the opening up of possibilities for transformation of spaces and inclusion of new subjects.

5.6.1 "Once I get underground, I feel like I am getting a lot of power"

The rituals I note above served to prepared workers for underground. The ways in which a successful preparation manifested underground was very nuanced; it was in the ways workers acted talked, how they walked, how they sat, the food they ate underground and their ways of reasoning once they got underground. Women reported swearing a lot when they are underground if they wanted to be heard. Others said they walked fast underground: "you don't jump water puddles, you walk in, and you don't care". In focus groups and also observed while at the training centre was that workers were not allowed to sit with their legs closed or crossed, they had to be "apart at all times, ready to jump if there's a rock fall or any accident", as noted by one training centre instructor.

The women who were able to make a transition to an underground self said as they go down the cage, they 'become' like "tough cookies". Tee said she felt herself getting stronger:

> "Once I get underground, I feel like I am getting a lot of power, a lot of strength to do my job… you cannot be the same person underground and on surface, it is impossible. Underground it is dirty, smelly and there is water and mud all over…but you don't jump the water puddles, you walk right in, you don't care about getting wet or dirty, it's not a priority. You only care about production.... You have to change if you want to make it underground…my heart is hard now, underground makes it that way".

Nelisiwe argued: “you become tough and not emotional”. In other words, she suppressed her emotions in order to survive at work (Hochschild 2003).

She went further and said: “you must be like a man” in order to cope, “not to feel too much…take risks and p*lanisa*”. Planisa enabled workers to continue with their work even when having shortages or missing equipment. According to Phakathi (2006) *planisa* was about manipulating and ‘making a plan’ with (limited) available resources usually by overlooking the formal health and safety standards, it was ‘getting on and getting by’ underground through improvisations (Phakathi 2006: 1; Phakathi 2006, 2012, 2013). Since the improvisation tapped into informally established rules underground, workers believed that for one to *planisa* properly they had to transition to an underground self and those who could not transition could not *planisa* properly.

Some women reported that transitioning to an underground self was “freeing”. Nkele said: “underground there are no rules… you can get away with things you would not get away with on surface... even the swearing we do on surface, it’s not as much as we do underground”. Some women talked about feeling more at home underground than in their homes, less judged and “freer”. Nonzi, who preferred working on surface, during a focus group discussion said: “in the mines we can be open-minded about everything, not at home…you cannot talk about sex and kissing…at home if you are watching TV and a couple kisses you look away…here we talk about everything…you are yourself …you are free underground…At home you cannot make some jokes, you have to guard what you say”. Being underground, therefore, was associated with freedom, with power, with being yourself which, in this case, meant to break social norms of speech and sociality.

5.6.2 "You must forget yourself underground and listen to the rocks"

Others emphasised that once you got underground you had to "forget yourself, forget everything" that might prevent you from being one with underground. From formal and informal interviews workers remarked that unless one is able to transition to a state where "surface fades away" or is 'forgotten' and they become one with underground, "you cannot practice safety". Madala argued: "when you are underground you should not listen to yourself… you must forget yourself underground and listen to the rocks, listen to the machines... If you pay attention to yourself you won't hear the warnings…the minute that happens, you are a danger…you are in danger". According to Madala the daily transitions to an underground self-enabled workers "to be one with the place (underground) and with others", to *be* the machines (Ngai 2005). It enabled workers to listen and hear rocks and most importantly it helped workers to accept the possibilities of death and accidents without letting those possibilities paralyse them.[140] Madala remarked: "you know you can die any minute underground…you have seen people die… Everyone knows someone who has died here (underground)…but you cannot let that stop you, you have to feed your family…you put that at the back of your mind". The transition, therefore, was necessary to prepare mentally and was also a safety precaution.

Gontse lost her brother in 2010 due to a mine accident. She argued that it was being underground that helped her cope with his death, which was followed by her mother's a few months later. Talking about her experiences underground she said: "you forget everything once

[140] See Krieger 1983 for a historical account on mineworker's responses to life threatening incidents and accidents underground. The most telling of Krieger accounts is an anecdote on workers who were stuck underground drowning, instead of running away, he argues, they made jokes about death and continued to do so even when the water levels were high. They simply sat and looked death in the face, argues Krieger (1983).

you get underground... you forget about life and problems… it's another world there… as the cage goes down, your mind automatically changes and changes and you become another person, a free person". Lorna, who was Gontse's friend, added that a few months later, "When her mom died we were scared for her and we didn't even know what to say... but she was laughing and playing underground and I used to wonder why, but you know, you can easily forget stuff underground".

In another focus group discussion, Nonzi, who disliked underground and preferred to work on surface as a pikinini talked about underground as a space that 'saved' her and preserved her 'sanity'. Nonzi said that she,

> "Was gang raped by three guys in 2007, at home I would cry and stress... seeing men scared me. But at work, I would even forget about it... even if you are by yourself underground, you just forget about it... I don't know, but I find it helpful being there... it's like when you step out of the cage you forget everything that bothers you".

In most focus groups women emphasised that: "It's not being at work that helps you forget, it's going underground that helps you forget your problems...the thing about surface is that after 6am everyone is underground, so the problems come back to haunt you, but underground it is different".

The transition to an underground self, therefore, enabled them to forget their problems, forget the surface self, ignore the gender accountability regimes and be 'themselves', as opposed to on surface where they were women, daughters, mothers and wives and felt obliged to conform to established gender scripts (Puwar 2004). The ambiguity of gender expectations underground

allowed room for ‘freedom’ and negotiation in how women enacted gender that being on surface did not allow (more on this in Chapter 7 on Femininities). Part of being free for Gontse was precisely because she could put her surface and home self ‘off’ and take on a self that had no cares.

From observations and narratives, transitioning to an underground self was a daily negotiation. Madala remarked that sometimes even the most experienced workers failed to do it when they had “problems at home”. My observations also confirmed Madala’s assertion. Some men I spoke with acknowledged that they were not always able to make the transition, as a result, they, “suffered…everything becomes a drag… you just hate everything… you become ill-tempered…Your miner gives you an instruction and you just do not cooperate, you cannot….and you don’t want to do your job for that day”.

Gift, a miner, referring to workers he supervised argued: “If a worker has problems at home, it usually becomes very difficult for them to focus underground... and they can cause accidents”. In the crews I worked with there were instances where workers, especially RDOs were not allowed to drill or winch drivers were prevented from operating the winch. Workers remarked that when one is under stress at home and cannot ‘forget’ or transcend and leave the surface self behind: “it affects your concentration underground” and depending on its effect on you, had the potential to lead to accidents. To protect the workers and continue to ‘mine safe’, those who had problems and did not seem prepared for underground were isolated from the rest of the team. From my journal:

> Extract 1: Our miner, Thobela was not very active today, he hardly gave instructions and was in the haulage most of the day... Later on he told me that

his wife and brother were in a car accident over the week-end. His wife is still in hospital and yesterday (Sunday) he had to go and get his two year old daughter from Bloemfontein... He said he is 'stressed and scared'… he sat by himself in the haulage… No one went to get him... they all just continued working…they didn't want him near the stope... the safety rep said he's a danger to others when he's in that state of mind so it's better for him to be far from the crew.[141]

Extract 2: Milo has not been drilling for the past two days... confusing because he's one of the RDOs who does not like 'wasting time'. He is usually the first to get to the stope and carry out the early entry examination for the miner... but since yesterday he's been chilling...today he came to chat with Katlego and I, helping us with support stick and sleeping in the madala site in-between… On our way to the station this afternoon Malome told us that his wife is visiting from Lesotho and he is angry at her for visiting unannounced... he also thinks the trip is a waste of money at this time of the year (October)... he's stressing about the money, about how long she's going to stay for... other RDOs do not want him to drill because they say it's not good for him to drill when he's not thinking straight... when he is stressed like that...so the three RDOs divided his section amongst themselves and for the past couple of days have been insisting that he does something else... that's why he's been hanging around us...

[141] Workers who experienced problems were usually removed from the stope or given very light work. Sometimes you would find them sleeping in the madala site and colleagues overlooked this behaviour. In fact, they saw it as a safety measure and went as far as hiding them when supervisors asked about their whereabouts. This practice was very common and was seen as necessary for the teams' safety

In both these instances the workers could not leave their 'surface selves' behind, as a result they were seen as posing a danger to the team and to themselves and thus not allowed inside the stope.

The idea of the 'real self' for women in mining seemed more complex, shifting and also contradictory. For them, the transition was not only a matter of transitioning between surface and underground selves or performing multiple identities, but they also communicated shifting ideas as to which, if any, of the multiple selves they considered to be 'real'. On one hand they felt that they were not themselves underground and hence they changed underwear in order to distance the real (surface) self from the underground self. On the other hand, they said being underground enabled them to be 'themselves' since there were no firmly established gender expectations underground and they could enact gender in ways they saw beneficial, not necessarily abiding by any one dominant gender script. The challenge, however, was that while they could enact femininity in multiple ways underground, femininity remained outside the ideal. It was not seen as congruent with underground or with mineworker identity. As a result of that, they continued to falter and thus were seen as outsiders and not deliberately taught the 'rules of the game'.

5.6.3 Spatial codes: 'The rules of the game'

Being underground was about the 'feel for the game'; the "practical sense" which was informed by ones familiarity with the "rules of the game" (Puwar 2004: 125; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 81; Bourdieu 1977: 88). Some of the 'rules of the game' underground that workers had to 'work' and 'live' by concerned the use of PPE, conceptions of safety and work and ability to understand different mine languages. Concerning PPE underground, real workers who had

successfully transitioned to an underground self wore PPE in ways that were in tune with the underground logics. This meant selectively wearing PPE.

While working with Ntate Sephomola, Katlego and Thapelo, barring down rocks inside the stope and installing support, Ntate Sephomola religiously encouraged Katlego and I to 'protect' our eyes and ears and "wear safety glasses and ear plugs at all times". He argued that the small rock particles were dangerous and could blind or deafen us if we did not wear safety glasses. He argued that: "The stope is the most dangerous place underground and in the stope it is crucial to wear these (safe glasses and ear plugs), but in the haulage it's not necessary even though the mine rules say we must wear them for as long as we are underground". With Thapelo, however, Ntate Sephomola did not even realize that he was not wearing his safety glasses. A while later Katlego and I informed him about Thapelo who was not wearing his safety glasses and ear plugs, Ntate Sephomola defended this. In fact, he praised him for his bravery, arguing that: "the safety glasses get foggy because of the heat and humidity inside the hot stope...and that can be dangerous. You cannot see with those things once they get foggy with mist…he is better off without them". He went on to say that he knew this from experience hence he did not even bring his safety glasses to work: "they are of no use... instead of protecting you they can harm you and you can harm others when wearing them". Some workers argued that with ear plugs on you could not hear properly the sound your machine made or with a dust mask you couldn't breathe properly. Underground a worker (a category which hardly applies to women inside the stope), had to be one with the machines and environment. They had to smell, see and feel the authentic sensation in order to make an informed and safe decision. This logic then was used to legitimate the underground 'order' or working without PPE. To be one with their surroundings some workers (men) went as far as working nearly naked; with boxer shorts and gumboots only (See more on Appendix O).

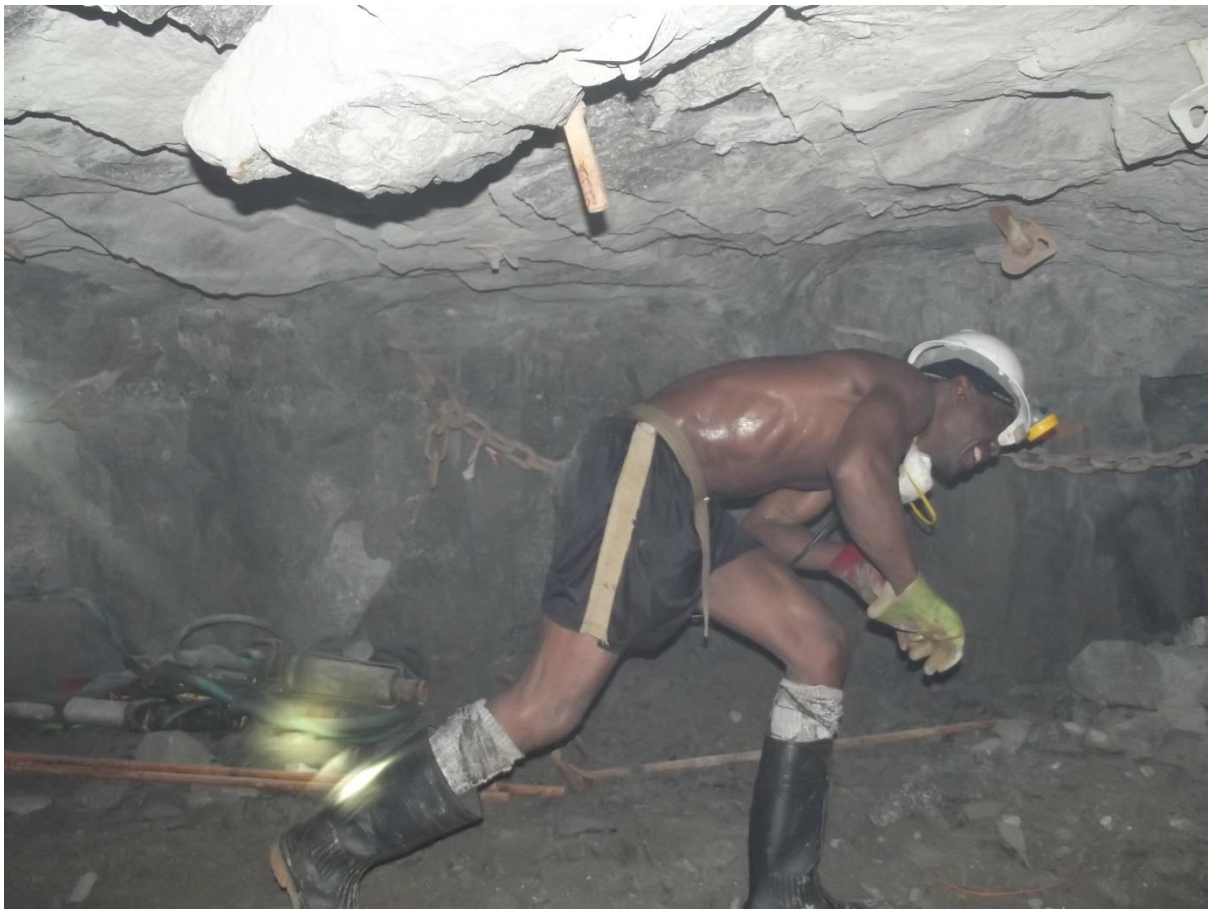


Photo 5.3: A man wearing boxer shorts and gumboots

Wearing the full PPE underground was equated to being snobbish. Most scathing, however, was that you were not seen as a real man; a real mineworker, when in full PPE and thus not trusted. At best workers doubted your ability to 'feel' and 'see' properly when your senses were 'mediated' by PPE. At worst those who wore full PPE underground were called *sphukuphuku* (fools) and their 'masculinity' and skills doubted. It was not part of the logic of underground to have PPE between the worker and the machine or the environment; they had to be one.

Myself, Katlego, Thapelo and Ntate Sephomola frequently worked together in the same area, doing the same work. Yet, for Ntate Sephomola we were simply assisting him and Thapelo; they were the workers, we were assistants. Kenny (2007) expands on the contested categories of what constitutes a worker. Through claims to rights and skill, Kenny (2007: 482) argues, workers articulated alternative worker identities. In Photo 5.3 below, while the two workers were doing exactly the same job in the same place, the woman was seen as assisting and the man was working barring down loose rocks.

Photo 3: Workers barring down lose rocks inside the stope

5.6.4 Making a plan or working substandard?

Part of the underground culture, due to unpredictable rocks, missing equipment and shortages, was that workers often deployed *planisa* to carry out their work. On surface to *planisa* was equated by other workers and management to working substandard while underground workers were implicitly encouraged to do it by other workers, supervisors and management. While it implied to 'make-do' it was a skill to *planisa* underground to read the rock structure and come up with a safe contingency plan to prevent it from falling. One had to have the technical know-how in order to carry it out 'properly' and safely. Workers argued that in some difficult instances the ability to do it properly was contingent on whether one knew how to be a 'real mineworker' and if they had done the mental preparation for underground.

Planisa was interpreted differently in the spaces underground and by women and men who had and had not transitioned to an underground self. For those who had transitioned to an underground self, to *planisa* was to facilitate work, while for others it was seen as working substandard and unsafely. To forgo *planisa*, according to the underground logic, was not only to stall work, but was to work unsafely. One, therefore, had to *planisa* and work in ways that were congruent with underground conceptions of safe work.

The formal definitions seemed to only apply on surface because managers who went underground also used the underground logic concerning work and went as far as 'sabotaging' workers who used surface logic underground. Shado, for instance, who refused to allow her crew into stopes she considered dangerous (a capacity nominally recognised by rules), was removed from the day shift gang to a night shift gang to "teach" her how to "work underground

and under pressure". Maria and Zolo were threatened with being moved to spare gangs if they continued to 'fight' with their miner instead of taking orders from him.

To emphasise safety underground or 'standard practices' was seen as unrealistic[142] and hypocritical because what was considered standard was constantly being reviewed and revised, changed completely and 'improved'. Instead of these changes fostering trust in the regulations, they perpetuated doubts and served to legitimize workers' rejection of the formal health and safety standards and inspired the construction of parallel informal rules, which were seen as more constant and reliable than the ever changing formal rules.

Also, they argued that to be underground was in itself unsafe. Gambu argued:

> "Being underground is unsafe, a daily risk. So if they want to talk about unsafe conditions let us start there…if you say this place is unsafe, which place is safe underground? Is there safety underground? We come down with a cage that is held by two ropes and cables that can snap any minute and they tell us about safety?... rocks can fall anytime, they don't listen or obey mine rules…maybe on surface there is something called safety, but not down here".

This was the starting point of the logic workers used to make sense of underground; that intrinsic to the space was danger and to go down the cage was to take a risk. They thus justified all other risks taken underground as following/stemming from that. Ntate Ras said: "if you are already here, you may as well do the work that needs to be done and continue taking the risks". Consequently, to work safely underground had very little to do with formal regulations and

[142] See Phakathi (2011); Nite and Stewart (2012).

more to do with *planisa* which on surface was interpreted as substandard practice and thus unsafe. According to underground logic even what was seen as substandard practice was not necessarily seen as unsafe, there were degrees of substandard work that one could carry out 'safely'. On surface, however, all substandard work was seen as unsafe. To work, therefore, was to negotiate and balance the parameters of these spatially competing definitions. As implied, there were both gender and spatial tensions and ambiguities that complicated the negotiation of the 'rules of the game' underground.

5.6.4 The three languages underground: Fanakalo, the lamp and glove language[143]

The way workers communicated was a crucial spatial practice and involved the use of mining symbols to get messages across the dark and noisy environment underground. Fish remarked that there were three 'languages' underground: "Fanakalo, *lo lampi* (the lamp) *nalo bomvu nalo hlaza glavu* (and the red and green hand gloves)". To understand the meanings of these symbols when they are used, one had to have the 'spatial capital'[144], the acquired skills, since they were linked with underground practical experience and *planisa*.

Take the lamps, for example, which were regularly used in the dark and noisy underground stopes when workers were far from each other. How the lamp language worked was that a co-worker shone the light directly at your eyes first to get your attention. This was easy in the darkness. Then they moved the light in specific directions or switched it on and off depending on the message they wanted to communicate. Actions and movements were place-specific. For

[143] In this section I only refer to the lamp language, in Chapter 7 below I refer to fanakalo and glove language.
[144] See Rerat and Lees 2010 for a broader definition of spatial capital which also includes access and appropriation. They see spatial capital as a factor in social differentiation and as something that can be accumulated over times.

instance, in the haulage when a lamp is shone in a quick zig-zag movement targeting your upper body it is a warning that a supervisor is in your vicinity you must only approach if your uniform is in order and you are working. If the fast zig-zag movement targets your lower body, however, it means you need to pay attention to where you are walking, usually that there was a hazard in rail lines. If it is done slowly it means you must approach the person doing it or pay attention to them and wait for further signal. When the same actions were done inside the stope, however, their meanings were different and only a worker who had the 'spatial capital', the spatial competence, could read the differences and respond accordingly.

Inside the stope a quick zig-zag light movement targeting the upper body meant one needed to urgently stop operating their machine and wait for further signal. If you were not operating a machine it meant you needed to move from where you were as a machine might be approaching. Light that's shone directly above the body meant one needed to pay attention to protruding rocks or look out for support poles. If a lamp signal was accompanied by a hand signal it also had different meanings.

A head lamp shone directly at a hand with a red glove with the palm facing away from the signalling person meant stop, or watch out for danger. If shone at a hand with the green glove it meant that you should return to the task you were previously doing before you were stopped or increase your pace.[145] Sometimes workers also played around and 'made-up' signals, using both the red and green glove at the same time, usually to confuse new recruits, to prank or to induct them into underground ways.

[145] Each worker had a red (usually right hand side) and green glove (usually left hand side).

The signals were many and the differences between them small, at time confusing to those unfamiliar with the signals. The ‘lamp and glove language’, while commonly practiced, had its own extensive, localized, unwritten and fluid vocabulary which only ‘real mineworkers’ could access. This meant it was mainly male workers who were privy to the ‘three languages’ vocabulary and meanings, their knowledge was transferred instantaneously while working. As a result, women were mainly excluded. For these ‘language’ and other underground-specific skills to be transferred to women, they had to convincingly make the transition from their surface self to mine self or to underground self. They had to be able to exist underground in ways consistent with the masculine underground logics.

Underground- dark, hot, humid and dangerous- was a space with its own orders and disorders, meanings and ontologies, its own *imithethos* (rules), which facilitated how workers negotiated their identities as they moved between spaces. It was the most important space in the construction of gendered identities, yet was still contingent on other spaces.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated that the mines and their different spaces are a site of contested and negotiated practices and identities. The different spaces produce workers as much as they are produced by workers. Spaces, especially underground, are not neutral backgrounds or passive surfaces, but are active with their own spatial rhythms and rules and the taken for granted spatial logics which are implicated in the construction of gendered identities. Power in each of these spaces is fluidly articulated, shifting from institutional power to power embodied by underground workers articulated through informal rules.

What it evident is that there is no monolithic 'mine space', but multiple spaces in mining. Each space has its own logics, however, all spaces are interconnected and in dialogue with each other. As workers move between the different spaces, in preparation for underground, they harmonise their ways of being and seeing to the spatial logics in each space. It is in these spaces and through iteration that gendered identities are negotiated and constructed.

The presence of women in mining is shifting (gendered) spatial power 'balances', it is challenging the fluid but long established and taken for granted masculine character of mining spaces and the ways these spaces operated previously. Their inclusion also exposes the limits and cracks in conceptions of spaces in mining, particularly underground, that seek to paint mining spaces as 'bounded', stable, impenetrable and thus not easily influenced or 'contaminated'.

In addition to demonstrating the gendered production (and reproduction) of spaces, it also shows how spaces are 'vulnerable' and can be reconstructed or at least shifted. In the case of underground in particular, a space whose masculine character has been naturalised and eternalised, the ability to pin-point how the gendered production of space occurs and highlight the cracks in the notion is productive and presents an opportunity to reimagine mining and the position of women in mining. It has potential to generate and bring to the fore new ways in which these spaces can be inhabited in gender sensitive ways and how the presence of women in mining can transform the masculine culture in mining (Grosz 1990).

In this Chapter I have demonstrated the importance of space in the construction of gendered identities. Next I build on my space-sensitive theory of gender by adding another layer, the 'body'. It is through the body that workers in mining are able to perceive and experience the

different spaces I noted above (Rogaly 2009; Puwar 2004). In the following chapter, therefore, I turn to the body and illustrate how the body is constructed in the different mining spaces and how spaces, the body and embodiment are at the centre of the construction of gendered identities.

Chapter 6: Mining bodies and bodies in mining

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter looked at spaces in mining and how they influence workers' conceptions of themselves, discourses and practices in each space. I now turn to bodies which occupy these mining spaces. Building on my theory of gender, in this chapter I look at discipline and embodiment. I start by detailing the ways in which the gendered material body is constructed through disciplinary power. Throughout the chapter I illustrate workers' resistance to this power and how they seek to 'carve out' their own bodies by evoking embodiment and histories of their bodies as labouring bodies. The result is a mining body seen as constructed not only by disciplinary power, but also a body made by workers. Unlike other mining studies where bodies are taken for granted or "disappear into abstraction" (Holmes, 2007: 175), what Puwar (2004: 16) calls the "masculinist denial of the male body", in this chapter I make visible, re-centre the body and contest its subordination in mining studies.

Foucault is useful in understanding how the body is produced. I have therefore framed my argument along his concept of disciplinary power that primarily targets and trains the body. The body is posited as an element to be managed, to be disciplined through the control and organisation of its activities. Time, space and exercise are very important in Foucault's construction of docile bodies (Foucault 1977). According to Foucault (1979) the body is a product of power relations and becomes useful when it is a productive and a subjected body. My concern in this chapter is not only to demonstrate how the mining body, as a material, labouring, social body is constructed through disciplinary power, but also to demonstrate how

workers, particularly women workers, exercise agency in the construction of bodies and their gendered identities.

My contribution to mining scholarship is the agency and materiality of the body in shaping identities. Historically the scholarship has overemphasized the power of institutions while downplaying the materiality of the body and the agency of workers. It has posited workers' bodies as passive or simply resisting the disciplinary power of institutions, I emphasise the agency of workers. Additionally, while in mining literature the masculinity of the body of a mineworker is naturalised, below I demystify that notion and reveal the gendered character of disciplinary power and techniques which are involved in the production of an (invisibly gendered) mining body.

In this study bodies are not simply sites of discipline or "location on which structures, cultures or relationships 'imprint' themselves, inscribe their effects, or 'hail' subjects" (Shillings 2005: 182), they are not just inactive instruments or object and products of labour, (Connell 1991; Trethewey 1999, Wolkowitz 2006; Salzinger 2003). Rather, I conceive of bodies as agents which are disciplined by power but are irreducible to it. In other words, they can productively exercise resistance and agency and thus play a role in the construction of subjectivities. They are not just objects, but are the "medium by which a person comes to enter into a collectively inhabited world" (Lande 2007: 97). They are "means through which individuals are attached to, or ruptured from society" (Shilling 2005: 206; Wolkowitz 2006) and also "means by which the production machine can extract labour power" (Ngai 2005: 77). Their materiality is of significance in workplace activities and is also at the centre of how workers negotiate their positionalities and identities (Gqola 2005; Shilling 2005) or negotiate "structure and agency, the social and the individual" (Wolkowitz 2006: 20). Deploying a lens which takes seriously

the materiality and agency of bodies enables me to show how bodies are explored, broken down and remade (Foucault 1984) in the construction of gendered identities.

While my conception of bodies relies on Foucault's extended notion of bodies, I am aware of its limits. Agency is very important in how workers in mining navigate the gendered disciplinary power of the mines. To appreciate the role workers play in actively constituting their identities requires one to go beyond Foucault.[146] Another limitation is that bodies come across as gender neutral (McNay 1992, 2013). To address this I draw and rely on feminists' theorizations of the body (such as Wolkowitz 2006; Shilling 2005; Puwar 2004; Ngai 2005). The feminist lens also enables me to integrate and interrogate the ways in which the materiality of bodies is evoked in ways that exclude women from mining.

Women in the narratives below situate their bodies and embodiment of certain skills within specific historical contexts of black bodies as labouring bodies, as fit for manual work while 'othering' white women's bodies and seeing them as unfit. I therefore take seriously the racialized and gendered history of laboring bodies, issues which Foucault's disciplinary power downplays. This lens, which marries Foucault and feminist readings of the body, enables me, through the women's historically embodied experiences, to demonstrate how the mineworkers' material body is a product of the mining disciplinary institution and mine work, a heavily gendered and raced labour process.

[146]Other scholars such as McNay (1992; 2013) have argued that Foucault's later work on "The Use of Pleasure" and "The Care of the Self" where he develops his notion of the 'practices of the self' recognises the agency of bodies, and accounts for bodies as not merely passive and subjected to disciplinary power but as having the ability to act autonomously. In this instance however I dwell on his earlier work on "Discipline and Punish" where he downplays this agency of bodies.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part looks at the centrality of the material body at recruitment stage; the ways in which the mining 'disciplinary regime' targets, scrutinises, manages and produces a particular mining body through the medical tests and heat tolerance screening. Following that, I look at the day-to-day gendered disciplinary techniques that target the body. These include the technologies of surveillance; access cards, clock-in system, shifts and cage timetables, and how they control workers and produce mining bodies. Alongside the technologies of surveillance I also consider the significance of uniforms in discipline and presentation of a mining body and the construction of subjectivities.

While the disciplinary power of the mines seems to penetrate all the way to the material body, workers also resist it and display their agency in a variety of ways. In my analysis of each stage, recruitment and the day-to-day, I incorporate the embodied resistance strategies and enactments of agency by workers.

While the first part focuses on disciplinary power from above, the second part looks at disciplinary power from below; horizontally, between peers, which is centred on bodily ideologies. In this section I show how ideologies rooted in notions of women's bodies as 'out of place' are used by workers to discipline, control and bargain with each other and to construct male bodies as ideal for mining and female bodies as unfit.

Using race as a conduit, drawing from the socio-historical experiences of women's bodies, and tapping into feminist and race scholars, I show how women reject ideas that posit their bodies as the 'other' and unfit for mining. They demonstrate agency by reconstructing their bodies as fit for the arduous underground work. Their narratives go beyond the atomic body. They touch on broader African women's bodily experiences and a national history that constructed black

bodies, regardless of gender, as labouring bodies. By so doing women show that their bodies are not merely female bodies, but they embody socio-historical experiences that contradict the narrative dominant in mining about female bodies as weak and incapable of physical labour. These two sections not only re-centre bodies but illustrate their material and socio-historical significance in the construction of gendered identities in mining.

6.2 The mining disciplinary power: examination of the body

> *"The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down, and rearranges it"* (Foucault 1977: 138)

Not long after my arrival at the mines I was reminded of the importance of a physically strong, 'well-fed' and fit body. The mining disciplinary machine wasted "no time in starting its work on the working bodies" (Ngai 2005: 81), organising it as it saw fit. What became even more apparent was that this body did not come ready-made, but was a creation of the mines. For example, Bra James, a cook in our kitchen, nudged me during breakfast to, "eat all of this (2 eggs, tomato, 4 slices of bread and a bowl of oats) or you are going to starve underground… you are in the mines now, you have to eat more, or you won't make it underground… finish that bread…your body must to be strong". Less than two hours after my arrival the disciplinary power of the mines had already started constructing a mining body and the kitchen and the food played an important role in it (Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu 2010). After breakfast I made my way to the engagement centre where the official examination, analysis and reorganisation of my body would be carried out.

At the engagement centre, before being signed on, I had to undergo several 'body' health and strength tests. The tests looked at and assessed 'parts' of my body; their competencies and limitations.[147] The first tests assessed my physical body. All the tests were conducted by trained nurses and sometimes doctors. It was through these tests that the mining subject was slowly produced. While the mine body was presented as neutral and not gendered, it was in fact a disciplined, hardworking male body. The diary extracts below show the disciplinary power which targets workers' bodies and the role of medical staff in the initial stages of the production of a mineworker body; a productive and submissive subject who embodies a gendered mining subjectivity.

> *This morning I went for my medical examination… After waiting a little over an hour in the queue my name was finally called out… I went to get my file… answered a short medical questionnaire which asks about recent hospitalisations and operations…I was directed to another queue… Close to an hour and a half later, after moving from seat-to-seat it was finally my turn to go inside the nurse's chambers to have my blood pressure taken… After another queue I went to have my weight taken…my eyes tested … I joined another queue*

[147] For more on tests conducted and their effects on women see Simango (2006) and Benya (2009). Webster et al 1999; Moodie, 1973 and 1994; and Stewart 2012 also give extensive and historical accounts of the body test, but their main focus is on the male body. They write about the ways in which black men's bodies were treated as 'mere matter', disrespected and disregarded, what Boris (1998:81) refers to as 'thing-hood' and consequently, were not accorded even the status given to wild animals but 'thing-hood'. In Moodie's (1994) account of the body examination he argues that they were deeply humiliating. According to him, older circumcised men were taken to huge dormitories where they stripped naked in front of young uncircumcised boys for medical examination, a humiliating experience. More humiliation is noted by Niehaus (2009:88) who remarks that "in the earliest years, before identity documents were widely available, officials of the Native recruiting Corporation in Bushbuckridge would take young men aside, lower their pants, and inspect the size of their penis and their pubic hair to assess whether they were old enough to work on the mines. Thereafter all men, underwent a thorough medical examination. They were undressed, weighed, examined for scars and disease, and had blood samples taken. Anyone weighing less than 55 kilograms was deemed too light to tolerate the strenuous physical demands of underground work and was sent home".

for hearing test… you are not allowed to talk, you can only whisper… I got inside the booth, they shut it and all I could hear was my breathing… The ear test lasts about 10-15 minutes …

By this time I had sat on more than a 100 chairs and I was not even half way done... I was tired, tired of moving so many times, sometimes within such a short space of time … I went to another queue to have my breathing and my lung capacity tested... I had to breathe onto a paper tube three times, each time harder than the previous…I went for an upper body x-ray… we took off ALL our clothes, "including the bra", the assistant nurse emphasised before exiting the small change room… it was my turn, I went in… I was instructed to "be quiet inside the chamber"…"lift up your arms"… "put them on the sides"…"lift them again" "sideways"…"breathe in" "and breathe out"…I went for a urine test to check for "abnormalities or if you're pregnant", said the irritated nurse …if you don't have urine you have to somehow summon your body to produce one on the spot... after urinating you pass it through a small window to a nurse on the other side who sometimes comments about how warm it is or yellow or little it is… I felt strange dangling my urine on a window like that but I could not object if I wanted to pass (which I did or my research would not have happened). We all had to obey all instructions and completely submit ourselves and our bodies to the authority of the nurses…some old men were really angry at the way the nurses treat workers saying "without the underground workers there would be no mines… yet we are treated like shit by the hospital nursing 'sisters'"…at the end of the day my body was declared

medically fit for underground[148] *and I was given a form to take to another test, the heat tolerance screening…*

The tests, as shown above, did not necessarily examine 'the body' as a whole. The assessments were done by isolating different body parts, inspecting and recording their abilities and wellness. Throughout the tests the body was treated as an instrument; a cog in the mining machine whose primary duty was to conduct mine work. The tests, therefore, reduced bodies to their 'usefulness' (Wolkowitz 2006). We were simply body parts to be examined in these rooms, not humans or workers.

During the tests it was not only the physical capabilities of our body parts that were being tested, but also our 'docility' and our compliance with instructions. In silence we complied with commands; breathing hard or holding our breath when told to do so, smiling even when ridiculed (as the nurses often did), moving 'patiently' from room to room, seat to seat, 'willingly' taking off our clothes and being naked in front of each other and the nurses, urinating when instructed to do so, all of these done 'obediently' and rarely questioning or irritating the nursing sisters. Through this process a foundation for the construction of docile and productive mining subjects was being laid. While we resisted their instruction at times, such as when men felt like their 'manhood' was being undermined, we also knew that obedience was a material necessity and thus endured the discipline in order to be pronounced fit for underground. In the queues we were "taught the art of power relations", we 'respected' the authorities, their 'laws' and 'orders' (Foucault 1984: 236). As such, we consented to the disciplinary power which targeted our bodies.

[148] For more on the medical examination and its logic see Benya (2009)

Upon successfully completing the medical bodily examination, workers proceeded to the Heat Tolerance Screening (HTS). As I will demonstrate below, inside the HTS chamber each act performed was initially broken down into small pieces, we were taught how to use our bodies in relation to the platform while listening and obeying the light signal and siren. The body position, articulation, movement, the duration and order of each full step was explained (Foucault 1977). We had to follow this 'exercise' routine in order to be declared fit for underground work. My diary entry below captures my experiences this:

> *Today I went for my Heat Tolerance Screening... we only started around 9h30… there were about 30 women… after handing in our papers… we got our skirts… changed into our adjustable crimplene skirts we were told to take off our tops so that the assessors could visually 'size' our breasts. After they sized up mine I was given a bra… we were each given a pill… after that we all went to sit down, in unison…we had to wait for instructions before making each move; before sitting down, before standing up, before going to the front, you wait to be told or you will be sent to the back of the queue or shouted at, as was the case with me… you do not move, you cannot go relieve yourself until told to do so… she then asked if anyone was sick…anyone was menstruating… pregnant…breastfeeding…In our group three women were breastfeeding, two were menstruating… they were immediately eliminated from the examination and instructed to go change back to their clothes and come back to sit down*[149]*…*

[149] Standard practice is that even when you cannot participate in the screening, you wait for others to complete before you are released and given your HTS forms back.

several women were sick but did not disclose this as it would have led to elimination (after the test I learnt that others did not disclose that they were breastfeeding and others menstruating). body temperature was then taken… you are instructed to lift your tongues and thermometers are slipped in… sit still, legs side by side not crossed and your feet firmly on the floor… they go around again taking out the thermometers and registering the temperature readings… the initial body temperature cannot exceed 36°C*, if it does, you are eliminated as was the case with two more women… after the temperature you line up to be weighed... After weighing the group, two women were eliminated because of weight*[150]*… shoes off…we were led to the HTS room by a male assistant…before you enter the HTS room you first dip your feet into a cold water foot bath with a strong disinfectant (You cannot skip any step!)…you are instructed to get into another foot bath with 'clean' water, then grab a cup just before entering the HTS chamber... it is hot and humid inside … the test started… the platform was 30cm high…there was not enough free space between us. We were given instructions and the woman demonstrated for us twice how to step up and down the platform and we joined her for the third set… following the bell and light signal; up on the platform for the high pitched sound and green light and down from the platform for the low pitched sound and red light…on the fifth one the timer started and so did our test…after what seems like a second the siren and light signals changed sound and colour… our examiner then walked to her seat while telling the group to 'be precise … follow the siren at all times or it is a fail… you will do 24 steps per minute for the next*

[150] One was overweight and one was underweight… you cannot be less than 50kg or more than 100kg

thirty minutes… you cannot be out of sync with the siren, you cannot stop and start, no resting… stopping is a sign of intolerance and it is a fail... if you feel dizzy sit down and someone will come take you out…" she was already seated shuffling papers when she finished giving us instructions… throughout the test or exercise or torture (as some women called it), one of the male assistants walks around twirling the temperature measuring devices, carefully monitoring the bulbs' and checking the margin between them… after what seemed like 15 or more minutes (but it was only 6 minutes)… I was soaking wet, everything wet… the windows were misty and the room felt extremely hot… I suspected that the clock was not moving so I decided to watch it after every twenty four steps… the female assessor walked up and down checking if our legs were keeping to the siren sounds… she shouted at two women who were out of sync and told them to catch up with the siren or sit down … a few minutes later one of them knelt on the platform… she was told she was out …we had only been stepping for 11 minutes… the woman on my right mumbled something I could not hear and I saw her fumbling, almost falling and she was caught and told to sit down…two others on the other end followed and they too were eliminated…then there was more space to move freely for the rest of us. It was extremely hot, so we all gratefully welcomed the extra space… our feet were now wobbly…I was starting to feel dizzy and was panicking…another woman fell and the assistants rushed to her. In that very moment while all attention was on the other woman most of us who were still 'stepping' deliberately skipped some beats to catch our breath… it gave my knees a few seconds to 'recuperate'… I stepped up and down again…drenched in sweat…we continued until 28minutes 30 seconds… We were told to sit down…" bodies twisted

sideways and both hands on top of your thighs"... thermometers were quickly inserted to capture the post screening body temperature... the female assessor reminded us that completing the test does not mean we have passed "what determines a pass is the body temperature[151]*"...they captured the post exercise temperatures from each of us and compared them to our initial temperatures... we got our results...out of 30 women, only five passed (and they were all doing the test for the second and third time), and the rest of us failed. Our body temperature was above 37.7˚C...as we walked out of the Chamber block with our 'fails' in hand. Two women who had passed told me that if I take a concoction of pills a couple of hours before the test and take them again just before I go into the exercise chamber...exercise like a mad person for the next five days...slightly push out the thermometer after it has been inserted and open my mouth discreetly to allow cold air in...my post exercise temperature will remain low or at least lower than the acceptable 37.6˚C... I am determined and willing to try all these tricks the next time than face the humiliation of failing the HTS twice in a row and possibly jeopardize my chances of working underground...*

[151] According to the HTS form in A 5, 37.6°C and below is a pass while 37.7°C is a fail, 40°C is indicative of heat stroke and "women generally fail with temperatures that are above 40°C".

Photo 4: Women during the heat tolerance screening exercise

To avert the negative material consequences of failing the HTS[152], workers often subject their bodies to (gender-specific) discipline. Menstruating women, for example, take pills that temporarily suspend menstruation and keep body temperature low.[153] In other words, they 'control' and 'discipline' their 'unruly bodies' by deploying *bodily planisa.* [154] Once inside the HTS chamber, the set up and conditions are constantly monitored. Leg movements, speed and all other activities inside the HTS chamber are governed by the constant gaze of our assessors; the "technicians of behaviour, engineers of conduct", who "acted like conductors" throughout the exercise (Ngai 2005: 86; Foucault 1977). Technologies of surveillance such as the bell,

[152] Unsuccessful new recruits risked forfeiting the employed opportunity and workers returning from leave risked not being allowed underground thus forfeiting all underground production and safety bonuses.
[153] Acker's (1990) Theory of Gendered Organisations, the section on 'organisational control, gender and the body' is very illuminating on how organisations attempt to control and exclude women by drawing on and stigmatising their menstruating and child bearing and sometimes breastfeeding domestic procreating bodies.
[154] Planisa is a term used by mineworkers which means to make a plan. Phakathi (2002, 2009, 2012, 2013) who defines planisa as "a Fanakalo injunction, entreating miners to deploy their skills and ingenuity to tackle the day-to-day problems posed by the endemic uncertainties and organisational dysfunctions of mining". Phakathi uses this term to refer to the plans made by workers in relation to the work process and organisational dysfunction, in this section I'm using it to refer to the 'making a plan' process that women engage their bodies in, the ways they 'make do' with bodies.

light signal and timer dictated and directed the actions, positions and rhythms of our bodies. Technicians and technologies colluded in monitoring specific body parts (knees, feet, heart) as we "marched to the rhythm of the drum", up and down the platform (Foucault 1977: 151). Their main goal was to produce bodies that were disciplined, docile and efficient at doing mine work in heat and humidity (Foucault 1984; Salzinger 2003). The HTS chamber was a disciplinary machine and the mine had mastered "the temporal elaboration of the acts" that took place inside it (Foucault 1977:152).

While inside the HTS chamber all seemed meticulously controlled, workers still exercised agency; they resisted disciplinary power by evading the rules and 'playing' the system, despite the constant gaze. Resistance was done cautiously and consciously and sometimes successfully. If a participant fell and the assessors rushed to them, everyone would slow down, stabilize their knees and catch their breath, while deceitfully stomping our feet to give the impression that we were still following the routine and keeping to the rhythms of the bell. Moreover, the presentation of bodies was also tightly controlled through uniforms.

6.3 The production of docile feminine bodies: "I feel de-reduced in an overall"

After successfully completing the body examinations outlined above, workers are given their Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), what they call *stof*. It comprises of a one-piece overall, rain boots, mine socks, a waist belt to keep the headlamp in place and a reflector vest. The PPE, as discussed in Chapter 5, forms part of safety regulations and also assists in the mental preparation undertaken by workers as they move between spaces. It prepares workers for the conditions that await them underground. These uniforms form part of the disciplinary

technique, they make available certain subject positions for workers and as such they contribute to the construction of subjectivities.

Uniforms standardized appearance, enabling the monitoring and control of workers' bodies, activities and movements. The overall colours differed according to departments; those in engineering wore blue (two-piece) overalls, those in mining, white and surface workers wore white or dark green overalls.[155] The different colours, while not directly important for production efficiency, were important in the production of visible and docile bodies. They also "preserve symbolic domination by reproducing differences and hierarchies among workers or between workers and employers" (Pei-Chia Lan 2001: 85).

Women, for example, saw the blue two-piece overalls as symbolizing a higher 'professional' status, one distant from mining masculinity and closer to femininity. The fact that it was a two-piece gave it the status of a uniform as opposed to an overall, which was seen to embody the status of a labourer with no skill. For men, however, the same blue two-piece overall symbolized the opposite; a lower status, one associated with cowardice as opposed to working class masculinity and male bravado.

Women argued that work-suits controlled how their bodies looked, influenced how they saw themselves and how they acted while within the mine premises. During focus group discussions women commented that mine overalls made them invisible or to look like men. In other words, they muted their femininity (Salzinger 2003). Minnie, a ventilation assistant and a pastor's

[155] See Boris (2006) on gendered symbolism of uniform colours, and Kenny (2004) on uniform colours which mark one's (raced) labouring position, and Salzinger (2003:57) on different coloured uniforms at Panoptimex which mark workers positions and genders.

wife, who had previously worked as a Personal Assistant (PA) at the Department of Justice (DoJ) where she wore, "nice clothes and pencil skirts" elaborated on her invisibility brought on by her overall. She plainly stated that she felt, "very de-reduced in an overall... in an overall you feel like everybody, you talk and walk like everybody, everybody thinks you are nobody…an overall is not a woman's place…When you are in an overall you don't get respect". In her previous job, however, she remarked that she was visible, was "somebody", felt important and got respect. To be "de-reduced" one woman explained is "when one is marginalised beyond marginalisation".[156]Another added that it is "when your status in society as a woman is reduced to that of men working underground". In Rustenburg, men who work underground, while they earn relatively more than those who work in retail or as security guards, they tend to be looked down upon, seen as uneducated and backward because of their close links to the country side.

Overalls were seen as markers of occupational positions, imprinting the mining hierarchy and the status of a laboring body on the wearer (Kenny 2004). Other women in the group discussion added that in a work-suit "everybody knows you are an A3, a *malayisha* (a labourer)". Overalls, therefore, accentuated a class and hierarchy between workers (Pei-Chia 2001).

Minnie who felt de-reduced by an overall went on to say: "I liked it more at DoJ than here (mines) even though it was a part-time job and paid less... Then I came to mining, and now I have to wear an overall, *ohh* I hate it...the way people at work treat you once you put it on...". Minnie, as well as other women were greatly bothered by the fact that they looked like

[156] She said this in English. The word 'de-reduced' was also said in English and it meant to be reduced to below a status that is widely seen as low.

'everybody'. Overalls homogenised bodies and made them indistinguishable from others. In an overall, one's status, her personhood and the respectability she embodies is constrained and even concealed (Boris 2006; Salzinger 2003; Crane 2012). An overall equated women to someone who occupied the margins, both underground and in the broader social and class hierarchy (Wolff 2010). Wolkowitz (2006:49) deploys the concept of "generality" and argues that uniforms are primarily about 'eliminating' the individual, and creating a general worker, an "everyman and everywoman", who is easy to manage and control.

Minnie went on:

> "When I go outside of the mine, I'm a youth leader, pastor's wife, when I talk, people listen to me, and I'm respected. When I pass, people say *dumela mamo ruti* (greetings pastor's wife), older people for that matter, they say it with respect…At home you are a wife, even my husband's parents respect me because I'm married to their son… So you see, I get respect everywhere, but when you get to the mines, *aahhh* (looking deflated)…in an overall and gumboots... I usually think, if only these people knew how much respect I get out there, they wouldn't be doing any of this…if only they knew".

By evoking her clothes as a PA, her status as a pastor's wife and juxtaposing them with her work-suit and work in the mine, Minnie was negotiating and even challenging her marginal status at work. She was negotiating boundaries of respectability by negotiating an intersection between her social capital, class, gender and symbols and images that are associated with "proper femininity" (Weinstein 2006). The pencil skirt and high heels she wore as a PA conveyed "personhood and dignity" (Ally 2006: 326), made her "work just a little more humane" (Boris 2006:123), something she felt denied in an overall.

For Minnie, the overall seemed to limit positions available to her; she could not act like a pastor's wife or a 'respectable woman' in an overall. That position became unavailable to her as soon as she put it on. In an overall she had to act according to her appearance, like a mineworker; a 'de-reduced' subject in her view, even though in her community she identified as a 'respectable' and 'model' pastor's wife. The overall influenced how workers saw themselves, felt about themselves and how they acted at work. It pacified women and made them 'docile' mining bodies and not women who embodied "fashion conscious femininity" (Kenny 2008). The overall was the ultimate disciplining technique.

The overall had a deeper effect in regulating women's self-conceptions and their performances of femininity. For Minnie, putting on the overall also resulted in other changes in how she behaved at work. For instance, her language changed as soon as she entered the mine gates. She said:

> "I leave(s) that *mamo ruti* (pastor's wife) mentality by the door and bullshit everybody in the cage and push...I use vulgar words and swear. And because of that my husband hates the mining industry. I cannot finish a sentence without swearing…You cannot finish a point without swearing if you want to be heard here". This behaviour, according to Minnie, starts "as soon as I enter the shaft… after I change into my *stof*".

Women further articulated that the overalls and hard hats diminished their attractiveness, femininity and masculinised their bodies. They challenged the standard of propriety and respectability women subscribe to (Boris 2006). During a focus group discussion, one participant said: "My hair is hidden under the *makarapa* (hard hat)... no earrings, if you put on

make-up you sweat within minutes after arriving in the stopes, it's useless". Another added: "when you come back from underground your hair is wet, soggy…lumpy and kinky so it's best you plait your hair if you want to preserve it..." The hard hats, therefore, smudged the 'polished appearance' (Kenny 2008) they were after. Another woman said: "...I once did a fancy hair-style and my hard-hat couldn't fit… I had to sit here and undo it before going underground". She had to make her body 'less feminine' and be like everybody. Hard hats controlled hairstyles, both at work and outside of work. They were a disciplinary apparatus that controlled femininity and obscured "gender's physical markings" (Salzinger 2003: 32). Hard hats policed women's body presentations. Men, on the other hand, viewed and experienced overalls differently. As opposed to the disciplinary power overalls had on women, men inverted their meaning.

6.4 Re-appropriation and resistance: "the overall make us stubborn"

Men felt differently about their overalls. While women in all my focus group discussions thought it unconceivable to return home after a shift in an overall, male mineworkers wore their overalls with pride outside of the mines. Starting at work, men decorated their overalls according to their interests: soccer balls, symbols of favourite soccer clubs, graffiti, and quotes about masculinity, love and women. Overalls became a symbol of masculine pride. Men reconstructed the meanings associated with overalls. It was common to find men on go-slow days gathered around a table drawing on their overalls; re-marking and personalizing them. As a 'student from the university' I was often requested by male workers to, "come write something nice on my overall"; a real honour underground since, for men, overalls were a prized possession, often taken off (as opposed to worn and made dirty) before embarking on work. Torn rags were worn instead.

BaSotho's for instance were known for cutting their sleeves off, putting on their traditional Sesotho blankets on top of their overalls and turning the top part of their gumboots inside out thus "forging their own fashion" (Boris 2006: 124) and perhaps reasserting their cultural identities which were being erased by the homogenizing overalls (see Photo 6). Instead of letting overalls mark their bodies as lowly and 'de-reduced' mineworkers, men re-appropriated and used the same overalls to mark their bodies as subjects with cultures, interests and ideas, not merely as controlled labouring bodies. Male workers challenged and resisted the standardization and control of bodies facilitated by overalls.

Photo 5: Sotho workers (a) adorning his overall with a Sotho rug worn over (b) with cut sleeves and gumboots turned inside out

Unlike women who felt de-reduced by overalls, men talked about the ways in which overalls changed how they saw themselves and altered their actions. For example, one of my male

coworkers said: “when you wear the hard hat, your head changes…*yena lo overall powerful, yena mandla sterek*” (this overall is powerful, it’s really powerful) implying that the change one feels when wearing a hard hat and overall is beyond ones’ control. This was a ‘productive’ change, not one of being de-reduced. It allowed one to get into a trance that is necessary for productivity and personal and group survival underground. Once a worker puts on their underground clothes, men explicitly said: “you are not the same person”, or “you cannot be the same” and others said: “they (overalls) change the way you think”.

Men talked about the overalls, especially the hard hat, as ‘power-giving’ and the overall as powerful: “when you put it on, you become invincible”. Male workers often urged me to, “look at the way we behave underground… we are not the same”. Zolo went on to explain: “…it’s like the hard hat is pressing on your brain and there is no fresh air for your brain to think when you are underground and that affects you… the way you look at hazards changes”.

Zolo, who was also a traditional healer, explained that the hard hat which presses against your brain and the lack of fresh air was part of the ‘magical processes’ that they have to go through in order to be fit for underground. He argued that when the hard hat is pressing against your brain, it allows you to gather your thoughts, to focus your mind on underground and what lies ahead. He went on to argue that: “hard hats make us stubborn and not listen… helps prepare us for work”. By stubborn Zolo meant highly focused, not allowing distractions that can result in dangers and compromise productivity. So, while on the one hand male workers resisted the homogenizing effect of overalls or work uniforms in general, on the other they still obliged its capacity to produce productive workers.

The construction of overalls, and especially hard hats, as ultimate symbols of manliness or masculinity goes beyond mining. According to Freeman (1993), to convince men that drinking a particular brand of beer would confirm their manhood, beer companies started using hard hats in advertisements.[157] Similarly, "political candidates who were worried that they were perceived as 'wimps', donned hard hats and posed near industrial equipment" to convince people otherwise (Freeman 1993: 725). There seems, therefore, to be a symbolic link between masculinity, hardhats and overalls. For male workers overalls were seen as somewhat "magical objects" and as "conferring masculinity on its wearer" (Freeman 1993: 725), while for women they diminished and erased femininity.

In as much as overalls were an attempt to harness workers' appearance (Boris 2006), to discipline, control and produce certain subjectivities which could fit the mining disciplinary institution, they were also re-appropriated by workers and used to express workers' subjectivities and resistance to power and authority (Boris 2006). If men felt so empowered by overalls and PPE in general, if they felt so invincible and magical, how do we explain why women felt so dramatically different and de-reduced in their overalls?

To understand the difference one needs to first appreciate the role of 'dress' or 'clothes' in women's lived experiences: in the production, presentation and preservation of gendered subjects, especially of femininity in everyday interactions (Boris 2006). That means taking seriously the linkages between bodies, body presentation and self-worth of working class women (Weinstein 2006).

[157] See Murphy (1997) on the emergence of Saloons in Butte, a mining town. Murphy also offers an incisive link between masculinity and social drinking in mining areas.

While masculinity was reaffirmed by men re-appropriating overalls and using them as a means of asserting their subjectivities, for women this seemed difficult, particularly because the symbolism carried by overalls was exclusively associated with working class masculinity. Women in overalls were stigmatized. Men, therefore, could easily evoke 'ancient' imageries and metaphors of masculinity that highlight bravado as characterized by hard work, appetite for risk, strength and independence, and these traits reinforce men's identity as workers and as individuals (Weinstein 2006). Working class women have no such resources or leverage and, as such, cannot easily ward off negative gendered intimations about the inappropriateness of femininity in overalls (Weinstein 2006). As techniques of discipline, overalls pacified and subjectified women, while for men they were a status symbol that cemented their working class identity.

In addition to the overalls which policed or disciplined mining bodies, albeit differently for men and women, there were also technologies of discipline which formed part of workers' everyday navigation of the mining space: head lamps and access cards.

6.5 Disciplinary technologies of the body

The disciplinary technologies included head lamps and access cards. These technologies of discipline targeted bodies universally, normalised their behaviour, made visible their movements and locations and thus played a significant role in the cultivation of a docile subject. To engender 'consent' from workers, or at least to ensure that workers were at work on time, mines closely regulated and meticulously monitored access cards. They used access cards to discipline and punish workers into keeping time (Kenny 2004, 2007). They served as "a

program of disciplinary time" (Ngai 2005: 93), "like a bull eye watching over" workers (Kenny 2004: 491-492).

Clock-in cards were carefully programmed with specific times at which a worker could gain access to an area. This was further reinforced by the personalized allocation of head lamps and rescue packs, instead of random pick-ups. They disciplined and monitored workers' bodies to ensure obedience (Salzinger 2003; Kenny 2004). The clock-in cards' data was synchronized with the payroll office to ensure compliance of bodies.

The constant and continuous surveillance of bodies through access cards, head lamps and rescue packs was also a daily reminder of ever-looming possibilities of deadly disasters (Krieger 1983). After accidents or death underground, management first checked the day's clock-in history, then proceeded to correlate these with missing head lamps and rescue packs to see which workers were still underground.

The very same technologies that were used to discipline workers were also appropriated by workers and used to manipulate and resist power. As if to parody the surveillance system, late workers would 'swipe in', pretend to have entered on time but return to the change-house instead of proceeding underground. When workers later returned to the gates[158] they piggybacked on others instead of swiping their cards again. While installed to monitor minute movement, the surveillance system could be flouted. The disciplinary power of clock-in cards was, therefore, reinforced by 'experts', by supervisors checking if workers were indeed where

[158] Moodie 2012 refers to these gates as "crush entrance".

the cards said they were. Those caught transgressing the system faced disciplinary action, even dismissal.

The use of technologies of surveillance made 'visible' and controlled workers' movements in mining. Workers submitted to their power while also resisting and parodying it at times. Added to the disciplinary power of surveillance technologies was a horizontal power which targeted bodies. This disciplinary power, which was embodied by other workers, examined and hierarchized bodies based on their gender and physical traits, thus depicting some bodies as fit and others as unfit for mining. These processes actively produced mining bodies.

6.6 Production of mining bodies

Workers monitored each other's hands, fingers, arms, forearms, body size and perceived body fat. This allowed not only the mine to classify, to discipline and produce a mining body, but other workers as well. This was a profoundly gendered process and was informed by gendered assumptions regarding body parts. For example, women's bodies could be fit and firm, but if their hands did not resemble those associated with mining hands the whole body was rejected and treated as non-ideal. Male bodies on the other hand were presumed ideal and thus not subjected to the same disciplinary power as women.

A male co-worker at the training centre, describing how workers evaluate others said:

> We look at your hands… your hands must be strong… like a man's hands… big… and look hard… no soft hands… we want to see if you can work, really work... it's easy to see who has worked hard… in mining the machines vibrate and rub against your hands and make them hard… so you check the hard

> skin…If you use a winch your hands won't be hard like RDO but… they'll be big, you can still see that this person really works… their fingers grow … big...rough.

Men were the standard and women were the 'other' and the discipline or normalising regimes they were subjected to differed. One was premised on the notion of a male body that was naturally fit for mine work and only had to be acclimatized to mining ways of being while the female body was foreign and could not be integrated. Slender, a female worker, and Sihle, a male worker, demonstrate this.

Slender, a recently recruited winch operator who was then working as a pikinini, described how she was 'chased' away because her body was 'small' and *looked* 'fragile'. Her team members asked her, without her knowledge that she was being examined, to operate the winch. When the winch rope tore, she was instructed to hold down the rope while another male worker stitched it together. It slipped off her hands and feet a few times. In days that followed she was given 'small jobs', enough for her small arms, to "help the real workers", she said. Her 'inability' to sew the rope was attributed to her small female body and weak hands, not her newness. She argued that her miner told her that: "… my hands are soft and too small…they feared that I would be easily blown away by compressed air… so they didn't want me in the stope".

Sihle, on the other hand, a young RDO from the Eastern Cape described his experience differently, despite his small body and "only (being) eighteen". Below is Sihle's narrative of his first three months in the mines. He said:

"…On my first day when I realized that I wasn't going to cut it for the day (drilling 40 holes before knock off time), I asked the miner to help me... I wanted him to hold the *jombolo* (jumper) for me so that I can at least insert it in the marked spots.... He said he's done his job which was to mark the face for me. Later I asked the winch operator who also responded by saying he's done his job which is to clean and scrape off the ore… I was a *small* boy … had never used the machine before… I bought my machine certificate... They all refused to assist me… After they refused, I just pushed myself ...I only managed to finish around 6pm not with everyone at 2pm…I walked to the hostel where I was staying with my brother because all the mine buses were finished at that time. When my brother arrived, he saw that I was very tired, he suggested that I go to the dressing station (mine clinic) the following day and fake a sickness and not go to work. When I awoke the following day to go to the dressing station, I realised that my brother had gone to work even though he had advised me not to go...I decided I was also going to go to work... I struggled for another three months, I would get home and just sleep every day, I had no energy for anything, I lost so much weight and was afraid to go back to the Eastern Cape because people were going to think I had contracted HIV. After that three months of drilling everyday by myself, I knew how to do the work and I did it well and I even finished (drilling) on time but I knew that I could not do the *mashini* (drilling machine) for long… it requires a strong man..."

Sihle's narrative reveals several factors about the production of a gendered mining body, how it is disciplined and controlled in gendered ways. For Slender, the discipline was embedded in her exclusion from the labour process inside the stope. For Sihle, it was in the indirect insistence

that he summons his body to live up to its naturalized masculine abilities and refuse to capitulate. His case demonstrates the ways in which bodies are "worked on by the work they do" (Wolkowitz 2006: 38), how work calibrates workers' bodies (Ngai 2005) and how this process produces the mining laboring body. These two experiences reveal how the disciplinary power enacted by co-workers was gender-specific[159] and targeted the body. Sihle's body, from his description, did not measure up to mining ideals – it was not big and strong enough, yet it was seen as embodying an intrinsic ability to do the work.[160]

It seems that the reason Sihle was trained instead of removed like Slender, is partly because he embodied familiar "somatic" norms (Puwar 2006). Additionally, Sihle embodied a younger version of them. As a result, they trusted that, like them, he would eventually master the machine despite initial challenges. Puwar (2004: 123) argues, that: "people look for themselves in their prodigies" and Sihle was certainly a closer resemblance than Slender who did not resemble them or what epitomizes a mineworker body. Slender's body could not be trusted, an important element for mine work and workers who are exposed to dangers daily (Wolkowitz 2006). This is not trust of people, but of bodies and it is not based on ones' skill, but on gender familiarity and historical embodied links between bodies. Sihle's own daily gendered performances in response to his co-workers' actions (such as when he gets up to go to work after realizing that his brother had gone), shows the way he had internalised and was vested in the 'masculine project'.

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[159] Even discursively the disciplinary power was gendered. For example while Slender's small body was seen as a limitation to her ability to perform mine work, Sihle's and other small bodied men, as I later found out, were seen as 'good for the small stopes' that are difficult for workers with big bodies.

[160] Other male bodies did not live up to these gender expectations, like Leseli in Chapter 7. He was seen as a brilliant machine operator (RDO) but his body could not tolerate the heat and as a result he was teased, likened to a woman, ostracised and ended up requesting to change teams because of the level of animosity towards his body (and by extension, him) which could not live up to mining masculinity conceptions of male bodies. See Webster et al (1999) on heat underground and its effects on workers.

In these narratives one can see the ways in which the two bodies were disciplined, albeit differently. Sihle's body, for instance, was broken down and rearranged through constant training and re-socialisation (Foucault 1984; Lasson-Levy 2003). It was actively made into a mining body that tolerates mine work and thrives while doing it. Slender's, on the other hand, was disciplined through exclusion from male spaces and underground work.

Some women's experiences talked to other aspects of the production of the mining body that add nuances to the narratives above. Their experiences showed how mining bodies were also physically made and re-made at work. Maria, for example, argued that her body was a direct product of her experiences at work, especially the machine she uses. She said: "the (winch) machine does not only harden your muscles as you use it, it also harden your heart... As you lift the hard handles of the winch, your heart changes and stops being good (*muhle nhliziyo*)…so your muscles change and your heart changes and become hard like the machines".

During a focus group discussion several women reinforced these ways in which their bodies had physically changed since they started working in the mines. Maria's statements captured how her work and experiences at work affected the 'flesh', changed her soft heart and produced a "hard heart" which was fit and could endure underground.

The accounts above demonstrate the ways in which the materiality of the body and embodiment matter and influence the construction of subjectivities. Equally important in the construction of a mining body is the skill of the body, cultivated through rigorous exercise.

6.7 The production of a skilled masculine mining body

The marriage between bodies, gender and skill in the construction of subjectivities in mining is first demonstrated at the training centre. While attending a training class for RDOs this association was made visible. To start, women were not allowed in the drilling class. The reasons for this exclusion was based on their bodies, which instructors and the mine considered improper for the operation of the drilling machine. Drilling machine vibrations, which would negatively affect their wombs were used to justify these rules. In my case, after persisting and eventually being allowed to join the class, I was strictly instructed to only observe and not touch anything because "the hot stope… drilling" was for men and was incompatible with women's anatomy (Appendix P). The design of the machines or the ventilation in the stope[161] were not cited as the reason. Below are notes from diary entries and from my reflection diary:

> *After all the theory classes on drilling, I finally joined the stope… I watched them drill today… Most men in my drilling class are new in mining…they were recruited during the RDO's strike early this year…they are really young, with even smaller bodies…the instructor says small bodies are good for RDOs, they can easily enter small stopes and drill…some have been in the RDO class for just a week others two months or longer. A few started with me on Monday…sometimes our instructor does the first two holes or one of the learner RDOs who have been here for more than a month... everyone else watches… so much masculine bravado excitement if the drilling stick goes in a short period*

[161] Stewart (2012) locates the reasons for the continued use of outdated machines such as the hand-held drilling machine to general limits to technological developments the mines and geological formations of the rock. For more on Gender *in* (or *of*) technology design see Kelan (2009) and Faulkner (2001).

out time… others sit and give guidance if the one drilling seems to be stumbling…they tell the driller how to sit, they even physically move and remove your body so that they are sure you are sitting properly…sometimes push their thighs …lock the machine between thighs… during breaks they show each other how to operate the machine once you are on top of it…how you move your body matters, you have to move with the machine, sometimes opposite direction, always gently…change directions and move closer without switching off the machine as the drill-bit goes deeper inside the rock… look at the other markings around you to get guidance on where the platinum vein is… push it up a bit by closely controlling your hands and the way you hold the machine and the position of your feet in relation to the feet of the machine… move your body to the side or downwards, just a little bit, allowing the rock to guide how you move the machine…(some parts of this were gathered from conversations during break time)…

…I've not been given a turn yet, the instructor insists I only watch (I'm a woman he keeps saying as if to say I must know my place)… the theory teaches you very basic stuff, none of the body movements are taught, the tricks I've seen them do when drilling… I finally managed to get one hole today, actually half a hole, one of the boys started the hole and I finished it off…I was kneeling because most of the drill bit was already inside the rock… taking the drill bit out is tricky, you cannot do it from the same position you drill, you sometimes have to stand …

…I managed to drill a few half holes…Today I started my own hole, so I tried to sit comfortably because I saw from watching that if you are not sitting properly, if your body is not 100% stable, you will not be able to qobela (to break the stone exactly where it is marked)…it is important that you are properly seated and directly aligned to the marked surface otherwise the entire drilling machine can be ripped out of your hands and you can end up on the floor. To prevent this I wanted to imitate Songezo's moves, he's one of the good machine boys in my class, and he always volunteers to go first if they want volunteers in the morning… I imagined that if I just copied him I would not struggle as much… as soon as I sat on the machine, the instructor jumped to correct my position, the boys were also screaming, no! I was taken aback because I was only doing what I saw them do, at least the sitting position… The instructor told me to bring my legs together instead of sitting on top of the machine with my legs straddling it… he said my legs must both be on one side, like a lady…I was totally baffled because what he was suggesting sounded strange, I had not seen a single boy do it, if anything, I saw HIM push the boys down, telling them to open wide their legs and feel the machine between their thighs, but here he was, telling me to close my legs and move them to one side "… otherwise you won't be able to have babies…you are killing your eggs", when I said I don't want to have babies, I just want to drill and qobela for myself, he refused, saying he cannot let me do that... With my legs on one side… I was not even able to hold the machine properly, it kept dragging me, moving me sideways and I almost fell when it dragged me to the side with no leg. When I switched it off to tell them that it is impossible to drill in that position, before I turned my head back to them, the instructor said "you see I told you that

women cannot drill, I've been in mining for a long time, I know what I'm talking about, women cannot do this, it's impossible…this machine is heavy" (all the machine boys I could lay my eyes on were nodding in agreement)… of course the machine was heavy, it was heavy because I had to sit like a lady… I was defeated, the lady was defeated… so I insisted on sitting like the rest of them, (at this point the instructor was agitated, reminding me that I'm in his class as a favour and I must be careful if I want to be allowed back)… I insisted on having my legs across the machine, with the machine stand between my thighs…The machine wasn't dragging me like before, I could easily control it…but I struggled to break the stone, to qobela, the machine was still heavy but at least it wasn't dragging me…in my head I replayed Songezo's break time instructions… it was in, the drill-bit was inside the rock and I kept moving the machine stand closer to the face, my legs firmly straddling the machine, not kneeling like I had done previously when I drilled the half holes … the instructor smiled and called it beginner's luck…While the machine was heavy, I doubt it was heavy because I am a woman, it seemed to be heavy because of the way I was instructed to sit on it and because it was my first time.

Needless to say, I was not allowed in that class again. The successful, albeit short-lived, performance of these acts by a female body defied gender expectations and led to the construction of my success as "beginners' luck". This was male workers' way of sustaining the narrative that female bodies are 'naturally' incompatible with some occupations underground, especially drilling (Lahiri-Dutt 2006).

The sitting position I was forced to take, both legs together, is consistent with discourse on respectful femininity that valorizes 'containment' of a woman's body (Harushimana 2014). The disciplinary power, which sought to contain and control the gestures and activities of my body, reproduced gender power. While I was instructed to refrain from straddling my legs, and to conform to gender-appropriate demeanour, men were encouraged to do the opposite. They were encouraged to, "feel the vibrations between your thighs", to, "move closer and roll with the machine" making sure that their, "legs are firmly straddled on both sides". In fact, their performance during the drilling process hinged on their ability to summon and propel their whole bodies. To this, Young (1990: 154) argues: "girls' bodies are socialized into moving in a feminine and thus more constrained manner than their male counterparts …Women's bodies are controlled and ordered within contemporary disciplinary regimes of femininity". To straddle the drilling machine, therefore, was to go against the gendered disciplinary regimes and to successfully insert the drilling stick was to trouble the frame constructed for female bodies. It led to "disorientation" for male workers (Puwar 2004), a disturbance in their conceptions of their bodies as ideal and as exclusively embodying the capacity to drill. This directly threatened masculinity.

Photo 6: A Rock Drill Operator Sitting with his legs straddling the drilling machine

After my drilling endeavor I was told by my male co-trainees that I had acted in a gender 'inappropriate' way and had thus offended the elderly instructor who was "only trying to protect" me and, "not ruin your chances of having children later". The instructor was protecting me, a "gentler sex from the rigours of dangerous and heavy work" (Lahiri-Dutt 2006:6). This was later reinforced by a colleague who told me that: "the machine vibrations are not good for women, or their wombs" and will "*really* affect you when you want to have babies". Male bodies could straddle their legs and closely affix their thighs over a vibrating drilling machine without damaging their reproductive organs or compromising their sperm count, while female bodies were presented as prone to the debilitating effects of drilling machine vibrations. This narrative controlled and served to exclude women from drilling.

According to Shilling (2005: 41), in the 19th century scientists validated the idea that women's bodies were primarily created to reproduce and that exposure to physical exertion, specifically manual labour, compromised and had "damaging consequences" to their reproductive capacity. They argued that, "prolonged physical and intellectual activity among women would lead to specific gynecological disorders and general deterioration of health" (Shilling 2005: 41). These 'scientific' ideas served to reinforce women's domesticity (Gaitskell, Kimble, Maconachie & Unterhalter 1983; Gaitskell, Hurwitz & Day 1982) and their reproductive vocation as conceiving and bearing off-spring for their husbands.

In conversation about women in mining, women's bodies and their 'inappropriateness' was usually evoked and hardly ever the machines and their designs. Kelan (2009: 30-31), in her study of the male-dominated information communication technology (ICT) sector, shows how technologies have "gender scripts" that prescribe the user and exclude others who fall outside the imagined profile. Technologies and machines, she argues, are gendered by design and by designers. They are an outcome of how engineers envision and thus (gender) stereotype the machine user, deciding on design choices that correspond with their imagined 'model user' (Kelan 2009; Berg 1994; Cockburn 1981; Game & Pringle 1984). In this way the script engenders and reinforces the gender of both the designs and the final product and their gendered political and symbolic association (Kelan 2009; Faulker 2001: 83; Woolgar 1991; Cockburn 1981). Mining machine designs were no different and this became evident when I joined the RDO class. My insistence on using an inherently masculine drilling machine went against the gender script of the machine.

RDOs often repeated that, "*azikho lo machine girl, ena machine boy kuphela*" (there is no such a thing as a machine girl[162], only machine boy) implying that only certain bodies were the 'prescribed' users of the drilling machines (Kelan 2009). By pointing to the linguistic restrictions and absence of the term 'machine girl', RDOs were pointing to the 'inherent' linkages between the machine and males and non-existence of a female template for RDOs equivalent to a machine boy.[163]

6.8 Gender ideologies and materiality of labouring bodies

Discourse is an important part of disciplinary power. Mining discourses, which perpetuate ideologies about women as weaker than men and unfit for mining, target the body. Some men, for example, discursively evoked menstruation to support and legitimise women's exclusion from underground work and the general mining workplace. They argued that women's blood is weaker, hence it is renewed by 'old' blood leaving their bodies monthly. Other argued that menstruation is the cause of women's weak blood since it is constantly being ejected. One RDO said: "Every month as their blood is ejected, they lose strength…some *steam*[164] goes with that blood… and that's why they are weaker...and cannot work here". According to him and his peers, women's strength is compromised with each menstrual cycle[165] and it gets weaker with childbirth.

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[162] RDOs are called Machine boys, *mshini boy* in Fanakalo, since they operate machines, see Moodie (1994) for a history of RDOs.

[163] Indeed there were no women RDOs. Out of 4954 RDO where I conducted my research, there was not a single woman RDO. See Lahiri-Dutt and Robinson (2008) on similar trends in Indonesian mines and Benya (2013a) in South Africa. Masculine exclusivity in certain occupations has also been noted in farming (Pilgeram 2007), Science, Technology and Engineering (Kvande 1999, Jorgenson 2002) the military; Lasson-Levy 2003, 2007, Kelan 2009, Hasuer 2011, Rimalt (2007) and Klein (2002). See Game and Pringle 1983 on the resilience of sexual division of labour.

[164] Strength in Fanakalo

[165] For more on the anthropology of menstruation see Buckley and Gottlieb (1988) classic on the multiple ways different people, regions understand menstruation, how it is viewed as both polluting and purifying in different

The disciplinary discourses, through evocations of menstruation were firmly rooted in the notion of women's bodies as different and thus inappropriate for mine work. According to Lahiri-Dutt and Robison (2008: 103), the narratives above reflect "myths and culturally rooted beliefs related to menstruation rather than hard science, especially in regard to women's work". They argue that there is simply "not enough medical evidence relating to women's capacity to work while menstruating" (Lahiri-Dutt 2006b; Lahiri-Dutt & Robinson 2008: 103).

Arguments that evoke menstruation as a strength-zapping and body-weakening process that negatively affects women's capacities to labour (Phipps 2012; Robledo & Chrisler 2013; Das 2008)[166], are meant to police women's activities and movements and exclude them from certain spaces that have been historically masculinised. It also strengthens the argument of ideal bodies as male and contained, as opposed to female, leaky (and even polluted) bodies (McDowell 1999; Riley 1988), bodies which are "governed by their menses" (Shilling 2005: 40).[167] Thus, the evocation of menstruation and women as weak should be viewed as a way of men "safeguard(ing) their jobs and occupational privileges" (Shillings 2005: 43), and as means of reinforcing sexist conceptions of female inferiority (Heemskerk 2000; Phipps 2012).[168]

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parts of the world. See also a 2002 Special Issue by Ethnology (Vol 41. 4pp 299-390) of scholars from different regions who studied different conceptions and experiences of menstruation from Bali to Alaska, India and PNG.

[166] In the army, Johnston and Chrisler (2013), show how female soldiers were forbidden from the trenches during menstruation because they were seen as highly vulnerable to infections because of their weakness of the immune system induced by their menstruation.

[167] See Acker's (1990) argument on how notions of women's bodies as leaky and unruly due to menstruation and reproduction are used to maintain gender hierarchy and masculine dominance in workplaces.

[168] For a nuanced critique of meanings of menstruation see Buckley and Gottlieb's (1988) edited classic on menstruation. They illustrate different and sometimes contradictory and ambiguous symbols and meanings of menstruation, blood and menstruating women. And further problematize the taken-for-granted meanings of taboos such as the ones I present above. The book also offers a great critique of earlier theorizations about menstruation, the blood itself and menstruating women. A recent Special Issue on menstruation based on ethnographic work edited by Janet Hoskins (Ethnology Vol 41.4 2002) is also useful as it explores multiple cultural constructions of menstruation and attempts to theorize what they mean. For studies that look at Sub-Saharan Africa Newton (2012) is useful and he links the taboos to modes of production. While these are all important, their main focus tends to be on menstruation in general and not necessarily its meanings in the

While some women contested the constructions of their bodies as weak, others legitimized and reproduced the discourses.[169] Tshego, for instance, in her diary mentioned "complications" with her periods and ability to conceive as affected by her work underground:

> …since I started working in the mine I have been having complications with my periods…I cannot have babies, we've been trying for a long time now…I went to different doctors and they don't tell me anything… they do not know what is wrong with my body...I ended up having an operation to check, but still no change... we work in hot places there underground... and you know what happens when you work in a hot place, your period is heavy... and more days...it affects your womb, a baby cannot live in that womb because it has lots of chemicals or something…

Her body, its fertility and her work interfaced negatively.[170] In her journal, Bonang also wrote at lengths about her inconsistent menstrual periods and attributed that to working underground. She wrote:

> …I was about to go into the cage and I felt a clot coming out, I looked down and my overall was red… I rushed to the change house to change and put on a pad…I went back to the cage and went underground. On my way to where I work, I felt something coming out strong as if I had just opened a tap and when I looked down again my overall was red. I had to turn back again. I was so shocked because I was not supposed to have my periods that week, it had only

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workplace. Lahiri-Dutt and Robinson (2008) attempt to look at it from the workplace but they only analyse it from a legalistic perspective-leave days for menstruating women. While this is an important scholarly contribution, it tends to reduce the debate of menstruating bodies to industrial relations and equity debates.

[169] See Lahiri-Dutt (2006b) for evidence of women in Indonesian mines who also reproduced a discourse which produced their bodies as unfit.

[170] See De Beauvoir (1974) on women experiencing their bodies as a burden.

> been two weeks since my last period …I was scared asking myself why was I bleeding so heavily... in the change house I told others…Nomaza and another girl told me it usually happens when you work hard and lift heavy stuff in the underground heat.

Infertility, irregular and heavy periods were thus used to legitimise claims about women's bodies as unfit. Additionally, the death of the only woman who had operated the drilling machine reinforced exclusionary and disciplinary discourses targeting bodies. Workers argued that her death was partly caused by her work. I was often told that "her body gave in" and that as a woman, she should not have used the drilling machine.[171]

At times women negotiated, contested and reconstructed the discourses which othered their bodies. By drawing on historical constructions of black bodies as labouring bodies, some women carved out spaces for their bodily capabilities. Bonang argued:

> You know what, with the bodies there are different categories of strength, the first category is babies, and the second one is white women, whether you like it or not, it's like that. The third one is white men; I think I'm stronger than a white guy…and then black women, then women who are strong like Zodwa who can

[171] Important when looking at the production of bodies in mining, but unexplored in this thesis, are the way in which mine work sometimes resulted in injured bodies and fatalities. For women injuries included, but were not limited, to sexual harassment and rape. Women's complaints were centred on their bodily experiences such as being touched inappropriately. None of these, whether rape or sexual harassment were recognised by the Mine Health and Safety Act of 1996 as health and safety issues because they were 'not' related to the work process, meaning production. Harassment and rapes were also seen as resulting from illegal miners, the *zama-zama*, who accessed underground through closed shafts or ventilation shafts. Recently figures of raped and killed women underground have increased and limitations within the Act means that these figures, especially of raped and women killed underground, are not included in the statistics. This is not to argue that rape is an 'accident' and should be reported as accident, but it is a workplace safety issue which concerns women. It would therefore seem fitting that their killings and rape be included in these figures.

> sew the winch rope … at the top are black men. There are other things I still struggle to do but other women can do, but black men can do everything.

Bonang's racial and gendered evocations, which posited black women as capable of physical labour, was consistent with the apartheid racialized and gendered constructions of black bodies as laboring bodies (Kenny 2004; Von Holdt 2000; Nite & Stewart 2012: 304-305) and white bodies as "supervisors and managers, overseeing operations". [172] As part of resisting the discourse that posited their bodies as weak, and thus occupying the margins, women drew from the same racialized conceptions of bodies to position themselves as able and fit.

6.9 "Different hormones, different genes, different blood and that affects their strength"

Indeed, white women did not work underground, and only handful of white men. But, still white bodies, particularly, women's served as a discourse for black women to discuss physical capacities (see Table 8, 9 and 10).

Table 9: Women by race and work location

	Surface	**Underground**	**Total**
White	15 (100%)	0	15
African	246 (11.8%)	1837 (88.2%)	2083
Total	261 (12.4%)	1837 (87.6%)	2098

[172] In retail Kenny (2004:489) notes continuities in post-apartheid era with "white men dominating top-level management positions" and white women in "administrative positions" and "Coloured, Indian men and women in second tier management posts and a few African men in management positions". For the most part, she argues, "African men and women advanced only as far as supervisory level" (Kenny 2004:489).

Table 10: Positions Occupied by white women

	Surface/office	**Underground**
Position	7	-
Accountant	1	-
Operations Accountant	2	-
Senior Accountant	2	-
Senior PMA Officer	2	-
Survey Clerk	2	-
Winding Engine Driver Relieving	1	-
Total	15	-

Table 11: Men by race and work location

	Surface	**Underground**	**Total**
White	87	608	695
African	493	24 320	24 813
Total	580	24 928	25 508

While there were no white women who worked underground, race and bodies were often evoked when talking about appropriate mining bodies. Black women used race as a conduit for bodies and to carve out space for themselves as proper mining bodies. They talked about white women as having different genes, hormones and blood, which prevent them from working underground full time. Additionally, Maria talked about, "white people's nose" as unsuitable and too small and incapable of inhaling properly underground. She said: "…Look at their nose, it is not the same as ours, their nostrils are small nostrils…that air underground will be bad for them, they cannot take it in everyday… They cannot take that smell of dust underground… and we can because our nose is bigger, it opens up".

Maria further pointed out the bones of white women as part of the reason they would not cope underground. She said:

> "…it's not possible for white women to work underground…they are like snakes maan, their bones are not strong, they are weak…yes they are brittle… Everything is sensitive... They cannot carry heavy things guys, they really cannot… They fold their legs like snakes. You (*pointing at another participant*) cannot sit like this (*attempting to show us a yoga position*) like a white woman, they are too soft…they cannot sweep…they cannot sweep the dust, their nostrils are small and nose is sensitive... I just want you to understand that and not just say apartheid. I just want you to face the facts. They cannot, they are too soft, they cannot sweep, especially the dust…"

By using sweeping, a task seen as easy and possible for the physically weak, she was saying that white women were not only the 'wrong' bodies for certain occupations, but for the space and even for small tasks such as sweeping.

Other women in the focus groups evoked the "skin of white people" and argued that it was "sensitive and weak", opposite of what is required of 'underground skin'. Nosipho, during a discussion said: "they would get skin rash from the oils and heat and water in the stopes". Maria joined in: "that's because their skin is not made to do hard work, they can only do hard work like exercise-lift weights, like gym…like rugby…but not hard work like in mining". She went further:

> "Their skin is not strong, it's *very* weak. They burn easily, these people are sensitive, if they get a scratch, even if you scratch them you'll see... They cannot even take the sun, it's too harsh for them… so the heat, the smoke and air

> underground would be too harsh for them, worse than the sun... that's why they are using expensive things (lotions and sunscreens) for their bodies…their skin is too sensitive."

Agnes, a woman who works with white workers, agreed with Maria and said: "…yes that is true, shame, you must see them when they (her white male colleagues) are underground, their skin changes and becomes maroon or red… they change colour… very sensitive skin". At this point other women added that: "The black skin is what helps us when we work hard... the black skin is strong…it does not even change colour because of heat" Another added "...black skin...we were born to work hard…our bodies were made for this… strong skin".

Women also attributed the 'weak white body' to, "the food they eat… their food is only healthy but it does not give them the strength required underground". Maria:

> "They don't eat the same food as us (black people), it's like they lack calcium, they don't eat *phuthu,*[173] or *papa,*[174] or samp,[175] like really solid food. They eat rice and vegetables and rich food and foods which just make you healthy... they are good for your health but not your strength, they don't give you strength... They don't make you strong. There is food that makes you strong but they don't eat that one…they eat things like crab, what kind of energy can you get from that? What can a crab help you do or mash potatoes? They cannot do hard work even if they wanted to...they don't have the strength to do that *mfazi*."

[173] A mixture of fermented milk or cultured buttermilk (amasi) and maize meal.
[174] A traditional staple maize based meal. For more on the history of Maize and how it became popular as a staple food in sub-Saharan Africa see Miracle (1966), Brandes (1992).
[175] Corn kernel usually eaten with beans.

Other women who had disagreed with Maria's argument about different hormones, genes and blood agreed with her on food. They too emphasized that 'their' food made them stronger and fit for mine work whereas "white people's food" was only good for health, not strength. "Black people's food", they argued, had strength enhancing capacity, rather than being purely nutritious or healthy.

Food, genes, blood, bones, skin and hormones were all used to draw an embodied distinction between insiders and outsiders; it was used to solidify group membership (Mintz & Du Bois 2002). In apartheid South Africa this logic was used (often in reverse) to legitimize and perpetuate racial hierarchy (Webster et al. 1999). Webster et al. (1999) argues that this pseudo-science which constructed Africans as inferior, with a smaller physique and shorter buttock-leg length, was used to construct the European as tall and superior.

The women talked about their bodies, their biology, what they consumed and their history as different and thus fitter and more capable in comparison to white bodies. In this discourse black bodies, their skin and bones were constructed as appropriate, thicker and stronger, their genes and hormones as 'made for this' and the food eaten as strengthening their bodies.

Furthermore, the historical "domestication of black women's bodies" (Kenny 2008: 387) and the history of black bodies as the "natural labouring class" (Brantlinger 1998: 183) was evoked.[176] Women carefully weaved socio-historical politics of their bodies to their

[176] For literature on black women working as domestic workers for white families see Cock 1980, Gaitskell (1983), Bozzoli (1991), Ally (2006, 2009, and 2011; Phillips (2011).Most of the women in this specific focus group are originally from Phokeng, the area where Bozzoli conducted her study on Women of Phokeng. In her book she makes references to the work these women engaged in in their households and their occupational

capabilities, showing that their bodies were operating within histories and embodied certain politics (Connell 1987). They argued that, unlike white women who had 'the help' (Stocket 2009) growing up,[177] they did not, instead they did house work (Gaitskell et al. 1983: 88; Bozzoli 1991; McCulloch 2010). In the absence of female adults (due to their jobs as live-in domestic workers in white suburbs), as young girls they had to do arduous household labour.

Other women, whose parents did not necessarily work as domestic workers, but in factories- sometimes as cleaners, 'tea-girls' or machine operators, also made references to their bodies as labouring bodies. Kenny (2004: 481) argues that black workers, especially after the 1950s, in large retail establishments did the bulk of the "hated manual tasks of cleaning, lifting and carrying bulk goods"[178], there was white domination and black subordination (Von Holdt 2000).

In constructing black women's bodies as suitable for mine work, the women moved beyond their embodied workplace experiences to tap into other experiences which transcended production space to include the reproduction space. A lot of what the workers said about white

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histories and experiences as domestic servants of white families in Johannesburg. In her book (and her 1983 article on Marxism and feminism) she makes similar arguments about black women's involvement in hard labour both in the household and in their domestic jobs. Bozzoli (1983) does not treat hard labour as something exclusively experienced by black women. In the contrary she points to isolated Boer farm families where mothers and daughters participated in hard labour. She argues that "they undertook the task of helping on the farm at lambing or kidding time, or in some areas taking total responsibility for goats…daughters helped mothers with domestic labour" (Bozzoli 1983:152).

[177] The use of people of African descent as domestic workers was not only prevalent in South African but also in America and in Europe, see Barnes 1993, Frank 1998, Stockett 2009, Clark-Lewis (1987). See also hooks' (1990), Yearning, Chapter 5 Homeplace: A site of resistance. In this chapter, amongst many issues, she reflects on black (or African American) women doing domestic work in white households. She asserts "they were black women who for the most part worked outside the home serving white folks, cleaning their houses, washing their clothes, tending their children-black women who worked in the fields or in the streets, whatever they could do to make ends meet, whatever was necessary. Then they returned to their homes to make life happen there." (hooks 1990:42).

[178] Kenny (2004:481) also noted that in the 1930s the same tasks were done by white women. However, after 1948 when apartheid was legalised, "white labour became incorporated into the racialized hegemonic order" (citing Davies 1979 and O'Meara 1996).

women and their inability to do manual labour relied on racialized gendered subtexts (Boris 1998: 95). Women seemed to draw both from the history of mining and from colonial stereotypes about racialized gendered bodies. White women were constructed as fragile (Stoler 1989; Nite & Stewart 2012) and not capable of manual work and in need of black hands for manual work. In the narratives white bodies were 'naturally' distanced from the 'degrading' and strenuous work underground and this maintained the white body and respectability ideology (Kenny 2008; Teppo 2009), or white workers as masters (Von Holdt 2000:52) and black workers as servants with laboring bodies.[179]

6.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated the significance of disciplinary power and embodiment in the construction of subjectivities. I have described the ways in which disciplinary power acts on bodies, turns the flesh of the body into a mineworker's body and how that process is gendered. While I started the chapter with a body that is being constructed from above by a gendered disciplinary power, I end it with a body that the workers themselves are continuously negotiating and refashioning into a 'mineworker' body. These negotiations of disciplinary power and its embodiment influence workers' conceptions of themselves.

[179] See Teppo (2009) for a detailed account of how the apartheid state dealt with and stigmatized poor whites who did not exhibit the respectability ascribed as 'naturally white'. Teppo writes about the "panopticon where one had to earn one's spurs and project the right image", acceptable virtues and have a "clean record" (2009:224). For women these included staying indoors, not being alone in the streets, not wearing pants and for men they were 'display' of commitment to hard work. She argues that "an apprentice White needed to find a suitable place where proper bodily behaviour, and thus commitment to being a good white cold be demonstrated" (2009:225).

Downplayed in the construction of mining bodies is the notion of male and masculine bodies as ideal and women as 'the other'. These are taken for granted, but as we saw gendered disciplinary power displays this bias. The question then becomes, if women's bodies are always seen as the other, as out of place or 'invaders', are there possibilities of being seen as workers? Is there any potential of truly including women in mining (not as mimic men), if their very bodies are perceived to be 'wrong' for mining spaces? In the next chapter I attempt to answer this question by drawing on the multiple femininities enacted by women.

Chapter 7: Femininities in the Making

7.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I showed how bodies, as biological, socio-historical, cultural products and relational sites come to matter in the construction of mineworker identities. In this chapter I focus on gendered identities. Gendered identities, as I argue in preceding chapters, appear as performative and embedded in the work processes but also independent of it. It is something workers 'do' as they 'do' their work and move in different spaces underground. That means their day-to-day work practices and experiences are gendered and are also gendering. Gendered identities constructed are not fixed but are flexible, fragile and continuously negotiated.

I argue that there are multiple gendered identities produced and performed underground and amongst these are multiple femininities. Gendered identities, including mining masculinities, are continuously negotiated in interactions, relations, spaces, and in work practices. Inspired by Riley (1988) and Scott (1988), in this chapter I critique the use of "the woman (mine) worker" category which homogenizes women and seeks to present the category 'woman' as stable. Instead, I detail four femininities that are performed by women mineworkers. The narratives below are not about domination or women as outsiders. On the contrary, the performances of femininities display women who exercise agency and who sometimes actively resist masculine normativity underground while at other times strategically reproduce it.

Implied in the multiple performances and negotiations are "gender games" (Pyke & Johnson 2003; Martin 2003), "struggles over gender power" (Salzinger 2003: 25). What that means in mining is that the mineworker identity and productivity are seen as coherent with masculinity,

thus legitimizing men underground. From this perspective, women are seen as an antithesis to both the mineworker identity and to productivity, not embodying the basics that constitute a 'good' and 'legitimate' mineworker. Thus, a woman can be portrayed as an outsider. The femininities I detail below help us interrogate and deconstruct this notion of women as outsiders underground and as a homogenous group which performs gender in pre-determined and singular ways. Moreover, this chapter contributes to the theorization of gender and also reveals the inadequacies of theories of masculinities that have downplayed performativity.

7.2. Femininities underground

In the subsequent sections I describe four femininities that I observed in detail. In my account I look at how the women labour, whether they speak *Fanakalo* underground or not, if they participate in union or collective groups and whether or not they know how to *planisa* (a valued skill in mining). At the end of the chapter is Table 12 where I summarise the differences between these femininities.

The first group of women I identified are called *mafazi*. This group emphasises and exaggerates women's femininity. They observe the "rules of behaviour" constituted as 'appropriate' for women (Kvande 1999: 311) and accept the domestic tasks assigned to them underground such as fetching water for the crew. They are therefore 'helpers' who care for male co-workers underground, not workers who participate in work. They are seen as 'good women' and in return men willingly work for them. Their performances of gender accommodate, rather than challenge, hegemonic mining masculinity (Kvande 1999; Sasson-Levy 2003). However, their presence and insistence on being underground, instead of on surface, challenges the notion that underground is solely men's space.

The second group of workers are called "*women in mining"* or *money makers*. In this thesis I refer to them as money makers for reasons I will elaborate on below. The *money makers* do not practice gender according to underground expectations. They appear to reject the 'rules of behaviour' and sometimes they also reject work assigned to them. Unlike the *mafazi*, they prefer to work on surface. They are considered lazy and opinionated women and their performances of gender are seen by men and other women as subversive. They challenge masculinity. As a result, they tend to be relationally and spatially alienated from their teams.

The third group of women is called *real mafazi*. They are known to be hard-working women, involved in 'real' mine work underground and not 'domestic' work like the *mafazi* or completely refusing work like the *money makers*. They engage in mine work on their terms, as women workers not as male mineworkers, thus challenging the notion that only men and masculine workers can do mine work and be productive underground. They are seen by their co-workers as 'strong women'.

The final group is called *madoda straight* women. They are called *madoda straight* (real men) because their gender performances resemble what Messerschmidt (2003) calls 'female masculinities'. This group, unlike all the others, are seen, and see themselves, as 'real' mineworkers who embody and can productively and convincingly mimic (masculine) mineworker's "bodily and discursive practices" (Sasson-Levy 2003: 440). *Madoda straight* women present themselves as different from other women and 'above' femininity and its dogmatic structures in the workplace. They too see femininity as antithetical to mining and productivity and therefore distance themselves from it.

Since each of the femininities, which I elaborate on below, is in dialogue with masculinities enacted underground, I want to start off by describing what constitutes masculinities and emphasize the significance of performativity. I start by looking at hegemonic masculinity underground and I detail how men enact it (I do imply other masculinities). I make references to male workers who embody mining masculinity as this helps me draw out how the four femininities relate to masculinity.

7.3 Mining Masculinities

For men, the ability to work was one of the key indicators of being a *madoda straight* man, a 'real' mineworker or what workers called *malayisha*. The exact location where one works underground is also important. For example, whether an RDO drills the tail, the middle or the head (*lo skop*), which is the most revered part, makes a difference. It is the same for winch operators; the closer they are to the face of the stope the more they are seen as embodying mining masculinity. Reflecting on a conversation with an RDO on why he was called, and preferred to call himself, a *madoda straight*:

> …The top, *lo skop*, is given to Ntate Ras… he says only an experienced RDO can do *lo skop* because "*yena nzima kudlula size*" (it is extremely difficult)… he said "when you are at the top you are sometimes required to drill more holes than others... it holds the panel together..." apparently a mistake at the top could be a fatal disaster for the whole section said one of the RDOs (Dlamini)... when you are drilling the top you have to be able to follow the course... to get at the platinum properly...

Madoda straight men also had to know how to *planisa* (make a plan) when drilling and how to read the direction of the mineral without being told. Ntate Ras, for instance, said he, "drills on top of it...start with the small *jombolo* (jumper)... and when the pikinini *jombolo* is fully in, I point it down... slants the machine… then change to the longer one... and others drill from below". According to Ntate Ras, not all RDOs can master the tricks with the drilling stick, only *madoda straight* know how to *planisa* like him. This is key in performing mining masculinity. Making a plan is about "getting on and getting by" (Phakathi 2012). The ability to hold steady the heavy drilling stick and insert it into the rock quickly (*qobela*) while effortlessly controlling the rest of the drilling machine is also an important marker of mining masculinity. Ntate Ras has mastered all of this, and was hence a *madoda straight*. The *madoda straight* label was not only given to him because he was in the thick of production, but because of his specific location, his skill, his ability to *planisa* and his ability to consistently and effectively manipulate the distance between marked holes and still manage to have a straight or flat *tafel* (hanging wall) after blasting with few or no misfires. These were all important markers of mining masculinity.

This kind of *planisa* in the labour process was very crucial, but not enough to mark one as a *madoda straight*. Part of what constitutes masculinity is based on bodily performances. Lesedi for instance, who worked like Ntate Ras, often complained about being tired and dizzy after drilling. We usually left him inside the stope to cool himself down and recover before heading to the cage station. This was seen as a sign of weakness and due to it, none of the workers in the gang considered him a *madoda straight*. Instead, Lesedi was compared to women: "*wena fanana nalo bafazi"* (You are just like women). The mockery intensified the day Lesedi experienced mild heatstroke and was seen pouring water over his upper body. The reliance on sustained bodily performances to describe what is masculine and what is not exposes the

vulnerability of gender (Connell 2005: 54). After the heat stroke incident he did not come to work for days.

> … Leseli has been missing from work for the past 4 days and no one knows his whereabouts …they were making jokes about the last time they saw him. He was angry and saying things that apparently did not make sense to anyone, a sign of heat stroke our safety rep said… Thulani said he saw him in the *madala* site using compressed air to cool himself down… they were laughing at the handkerchief he kept in his pocket and used to cool himself down...

Despite Lesedi's skill at drilling, suffering from heatstroke and being caught cooling yourself down were signs of weakness associated with femininity, not real masculinity. According to male workers, real men could tolerate the hot and humid conditions underground. We found out weeks after Lesedi's return to work that he had requested to be changed to another gang out of embarrassment after his heatstroke incident.

Another distinguishing feature between *madoda straight* men and workers was their ability to detect early warnings of dangers or looming rock falls; to see signs and hear the "talking rocks" (Leger & Mothibeli 1988; Leger 1992). [180] At the training centre during an informal conversation explaining how I can spot a *madoda straight* a co-worker said: "*ena loma lo skati ena knona kubuka longozi phamb ena fika*" (he's a madoda straight when he can foretell an accident). Because *madoda straight* men could foretell an accident, they did not run. Those who ran were those who lacked the intuition and skill to see a looming accident.

[180] Sitas (2004:3) in the "Theoretical Parables" uses the more poetic 'singing walls' as oppose to talking rocks.

While they could foretell accidents, they also had to know when to take risks and be willing to put themselves in harm's way (Connell 2002). In the risks taken one had to be able to strike a balance between risks that would result in more bonuses and those that could possibly lead to accidents. They had to avoid the latter. Good and bad risks were not clear-cut to everyone, but *madoda straight* men knew the difference. For instance, they knew the difference between bearable and unbearable little air in the stope and dangerously between little or no air. Little air meant that they could still work and be ok, unbearably little air meant that they had to be careful and drink lots of water if they wanted to be in the stope. No air, on the other hand, meant that no one should work in the stope. Instead, they had to install ventilation pipes and employ their *planisa* if there was missing material as no amount of water would cool you down in a stope with dangerously little or no air.

Similarly, operating a winch without a winch guard was considered a clever risk and rendered the operator manly, but doing so with a bad quality winch rope was seen as stupid. There were degrees of bad rope and some could be tolerated (slightly torn and far from the operator both when extended and not extended) while others could not. Operating a winch without a winch guard with management underground, even if the rope was brand new, was seen as a stupid risk and you were called *lo doti* (trash) for jeopardizing the whole teams' status and safety record. It was these little variations that distinguished between a *madoda straight* action and a stupid risk, what workers called s*phukuphuku* risk. Men who took bad risks were usually likened to boys or babies, a demotion from their manly status and identity. For Xhosa men, who were majority of the RDOs (and had gone to circumcision school), this was a very degrading label. As a result, they guarded their actions closely and at times even shied away from taking decisions when not sure, for the sake of protecting their masculine identity and their *madoda straight* status.

What also characterized *madoda straight* men were their intimate relationships with the mine equipment and machines and their ability to be one with the environment where they worked. Ntate Pampers, a *madoda straight*, often sang to his machines as a way of connecting with work and getting into mining mode. I made reference to this in my journal:

> I've been observing the RDOs prepare their machines, they treat drilling machines like lovers... Today I was amazed while watching our RDOs prepare their machines. They handled the machines so gently, turning it carefully side by side to remove dirt, holding it so delicately and softly and refilling them with oil. While these machines are usually very dirty from the drilling, greased-up with oil... some were using their mouths to blow things out if it meant the machine would be 'ok' afterwards... I've not seen any of them hammering roughly their machines, they gently stroke them while cleaning them, sometimes using their own clothes...Pampers sings every day the minute he sits down to clean and refill his machine, It's as if singing for the machines.
>
> He stops in-between, smiles at the machine saying "*aaww, Nono waka"* (Oh, my dear Nono), shakes his head and sings again while cleaning it... once he revs up the drilling machine and it makes the first sound he looks around and does a praise song, a poem[181]... Once they start, they hardly say a word to each other, partly because they are spaced out, and the machines are noisy but also because they don't like to be disturbed when working, they give it their all, they seem to forget the other world that exists outside their drilling, it consumes them and

[181] See Nite and Stewart (2012) where workers recount some of the songs they sang to motivate each other at work.

> becomes their only focus... None of the women I've worked with do any of these things, except the miners...

Other *madoda straight* workers also demonstrated this intimacy with their equipment and even the rock while working. Interestingly, their care, precision, passion and oneness are often associated with femininity. The image below shows a worker preparing his equipment, an event that often included a song.

Similarly, Siya, a winch driver who was in one of my night shift gangs, could be heard meters away begging the stubborn rocks to fall down in song. He sang the chorus non-stop, "*mina ndiyayi' thand 'inkosi yam, ndiyayi thanda inkosi yam*" (I love my chief, I love my chief), until the rock fell. There was a rhythm to his singing, he momentarily kept quiet when about to knock on the rock to hear what sound it made.[182] Describing how rocks sound, Siya said: "When a rock is loose, it makes a hollow-like sound, if it were singing I would say it sings alto or soprano but when it is stable, it makes a more rounded sound, it sings base, almost... so you have to be quiet to hear what sound it makes".

[182] Singing seemed to be more than just singing, it was a spiritually significant act workers reported. Singing as spiritual act is also evoked by Moodie (1976 and 1994) when he talks about experiences of migrants. In a study conducted by AIM, 1976, there are several instances where workers sing to cope with difficulties and to prepare the self for work, as a way of taking on the mine-worker identity. In the AIM study workers sang as they crossed the Mohokare River (Caledon) into South Africa (AIM 1994:30). Moodie argues that they did this to ease themselves into their new life, new realities, and the life in the South African gold mines.

Photo 7.1: A worker preparing his machine before drilling, sometimes he caressed and sang for it

While Ntate Ras was a *madoda straight* at work, he also knew that there were other factors that could lead to others undermining him; he had a small body frame.

> … Ntate Ras is the oldest[183] amongst RDOs but he is also the smallest... he likes looking at his small stomach and if he catches you looking at him while he looks at it, he offers an explanation, that it's not his 'usual frame' (*lo mzimba kamina*), work has led to weight loss (*ena dlile mina lo job*) and his small stomach… "*wenaz buka mina so, mina makhulu muntu, lo mine yena thatha logazi kamina*" (don't mind me looking like this, I'm usually bigger, but this mine has destroyed me (my blood)… (from my journal)

His small frame concerned him at times, especially outside of work where his skill as a RDO did not have as much significance. To legitimize his *madoda straight* status outside work, and mitigate for his glaringly small frame, he talked about his big cattle herd with black and white cows and his fields back in the Eastern Cape. He compared this with other men from his home town who were in other teams. This comparison, again, was a way of legitimizing his *madoda straight* status; he could afford to save money and buy cattle, a significant measure of masculinity in his home town (Moodie 1994).

Other traits of a *madoda straight* referenced by Ntate Ras were about his role in the community and church. As *madoda straight* men, parts of his community responsibilities were to resolve community and family disputes. Failing at these responsibilities in the community could also jeopardize his *madoda straight* status.

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[183] Seniority, Moodie (1994: 129) argues, was very important in the mines and *bantu* speaking communities and the communities were 'gerontocratic, organised on principle of seniority'. Seniority was at the centre of the moral economy in the mines. Moodie goes on to argue that "principles of seniority on the mines coincide to a considerable extent with age and status in the home societies, and they governed definitions of masculinity and sexual relations in both locales". See also Bozzoli 1983; Amadiume 1987 and Moore 2015

Despite these markers of his *madoda straight* status between home and work, he was sober about its limits, particularly at work. He saw the parameters within which it operated and where it was valid. Explaining his lack of power in the greater mining hierarchy, and juxtaposing it with his position in production, Ntate Ras said:

> …when production is low the mine manager goes hard on the mine captain who goes hard on the shift boss and then the miner and the miner takes it out and goes hard on the gang, the gang has no one to be hard on so we take out our frustration on the rock… we go hard on the rock… everyone is above us, we are just *malayishas* (general workers).

For one to be a *madoda straight*, therefore, they had to make sure that their performances or practices at work consistently reflected or conformed to hegemonic mining masculinity as mentioned above.[184] As I shall demonstrate, when men said that a woman was a *madoda straight*, it was usually because she was able to convincingly perform, not just mimic, the actions of *madoda straight* men. Below then I demonstrate the relationship between these

[184] The mining masculine practices were easily learnt by new male recruits even before working in the mines. Some of the men I worked with talked about learning to *planisa* from "back at home". In fact they talked about *planisa* as a way of life; in naturalized ways rather than as a skill that one learns. To 'make a plan' was to be a man and it meant to successfully complete work no matter the odds. From mens stories it was a way of life in the villages where they did not always have all the necessary tools to plough and had to make do with what they had. From my Xhosa male colleagues it seems to have been also what they were taught at Initiation School, not so much to planisa but that as they become men what will be expected of them will be to 'deliver' to 'provide', to 'be man' regardless of obstacles. Specific mining planisa and other mining skills were learnt from male relative or male neighbor who had worked in the mines. For others it was learnt in the informal settlement (or hostels), which is most people's first point of call when they arrive in Rustenburg. In the informal settlement to build a shack or connect electricity or direct water residents usually deploy their mining skills and use old mine scrap material and it is at these instances that new recruits get to also see first hand how to deploy the mining planisa. It is therefore easy to learn mine-skills which are linked to mining masculinity in the informal settlements. It is also easy to transfer these skills and men use already existing male networks to learn; networks that are premised on their maleness and based on other commonalities such as ethnicity, places of origin, language, playing the same sport on the week-ends or visiting the same social spots. Learning to be a mining man therefore was available to men before they even worked in the mines, while for women this was not the case. They were excluded, both historically and culturally, from the spaces where men learnt the practices associated with masculinity and mining masculinity in particular. Women therefore learnt mining masculinity at work as I shall demonstrate in one of the following sections.

mining masculinities and femininities enacted by women underground. I start with *mafazi*, followed by *money makers*, then *real mafazi* and finally *madoda straight* women.

7.4 *Mafazi:* Emphasised femininity

Mafazi is Fanakalo for woman, it is derived from *mfazi*, which in Nguni languages means 'wife', and can also be used to refer to women. Most *mafazi* were older woman and were married to mineworkers. Some had worked before, mainly as domestic workers and shop attendants, but others had not. The word *mafazi* denotes conventional femininity; a submissive and respectful woman or a wife who knows 'her place', which is mainly in the kitchen or in service of men. *Mafazi* embodied these characteristics. They knew their place underground and also respected and did not invade men's space. If not older and married, they were young and new to mining.

While some *Mafazi* attempted to do mine work, most were content when men offered to do the work on their behalf. Male co-workers tended to give them supplementary work outside of the stope and far from their gangs, but always underground, hardly on surface. Their daily tasks were usually to assist the gang, mainly doing work which highlighted their domesticity and femininity such as fetching water for the gang, cleaning the waiting place, supplying men with material and equipment or simply looking 'beautiful'.

7.4.1 "Sit over there and make yourself beautiful like a flower...I'm going to lash for you"

Nombulelo, a winch operator in her early forties who now works as an assistant to the safety representative[185], talked of how she managed to 'do' her work: "They volunteered to work for me... for a long time, almost daily…I hardly touched my winch, like maybe once in a while... I made sure that they had water. Sometimes I brought frozen water for them underground... and they like it because it's very hot in the stope". According to Nombulelo, one of her colleagues, an old man who did not think women should work underground, used to say to her: *"wena hlala lapha, wena yenza wena muhle fana nalo blom minaz layshela wena"* (go sit over there and make yourself beautiful like a flower and I'm going to lash for you). By ordering Nombulelo to 'go sit over there' the male colleague was producing a certain subject. She reported that the old man worked for her as often as she wanted him to, without complaining.[186] Her overt performance of femininity resulted in advantages for her (McDowell & Court 1994); all she had to do was to be a "good woman" (*muhle mfazi*), bring him water, and 'display' an acceptable version of femininity by making herself beautiful 'like a flower'. The request for women to beautify themselves was common for *mafazi.* Feminine beauty was associated with respectability, and good women had to maintain and display femininity.[187] Kenny (2008) also notes similar historical connections in retail where a union actively encouraged (white) women to groom themselves and make themselves beautiful. She argues that it was common to find

[185] In the mine books she was a winch operator but union officials took her to assist them on surface in their health and safety desk.
[186] Some women also reported using home boys to do work for them, see Benya (2009a; 2009b)
[187] There are striking similarities between the way *mafazi* were treated by male mineworkers and Niehaus' (2009:95) male wives, he argues that "underground team leaders always ensured that their wives (who were men) were not given strenuous manual labour. They never worked with drills but polished the drills and swept the floor".

articles in the 1940s which advised women "members to forget their work grievances 'and make yourself BEAUTIFUL'" (Kenny 2008: 377 (emphasis in original text)).

Puwar (2004: 88) argues that it is common in places where women are few to sexualize them and to "exoticise or fetishise" them. There was a limit to which *mafazi*, who were also older than most women, could be sexualized since they embodied respectable wives. Men were not allowed to touch *mafazi* since they were symbolically other men's wives.

Mafazi underground reproduced gendered divisions of labour. Nombulelo, for instance, took care of her male co-worker's physical needs; she brought them water, and in return they worked for her. The division of responsibilities mirrored the general gendered division of labour in the household. This division of responsibilities served to reproduce men's masculinity and to reproduce mine work as exclusively men's work. The fact that it was happening underground, a space associated with masculinity, not only reproduced masculinity, but reinforced women's femininity.

During a focus group discussion, Nombulelo and other *mafazi* remarked that they hardly contest when men volunteered to work for them or, "when they say I cannot do mine work, I'm a woman or I'm weak, things like that". Maria, who worked as a winch driver said: "When they (men) tell me I cannot do the job, like sew the rope for the winch, I don't even disagree with them. I agree and let them do it for me", thus reinforcing the idea that she could not work. The *mafazi* therefore, strategically claimed marginality. Martin (2003 citing Jackman 1994) argues that women who claim marginality, or who practice femininity in ways that reinforce stereotypes, ways that neither practically nor discursively contest women's outsider, subordinate and unequal status, were favoured by men since their actions validated men.

Furthermore, Maria and Nombulelo presented themselves, and allowed their male co-workers to present them, as vulnerable and weak. This is what Czarniawska (2013: 66) calls "girlification", a position usually taken by women to signal that they are not a threat to men or to signal surrender when men feel threatened. This girlification or enactment of conventional femininity renders *mafazi* 'good' and 'obedient' women. Obedience was seen as *mafazi's* 'natural' disposition. Salzinger (2003) contests this naturalization of women's gender performances at work. She argues that the docility of women workers is not natural but a product of shop floor relations, discourses, expectations and gender rhetoric in the workplace. Salzinger argues. "Docility, no matter who exhibits it, is produced on the shop floor, not acquired ready-made" (2003: 10). Indeed this is what we see with the *mafazi*, that they actively produce this form of femininity.

In addition to girlification was also a tendency to invoke feminine images that engendered sympathy from men. During a focus group discussion, Mavis, a female worker in her 40s said: "I just get there and I tell them how tired I am ... that I was busy preparing school things for my pikinini the whole night… they know I am alone, my husband died from a mine accident". Maria said she sometimes tells them she has period pains while other women said they tell their co-workers about their childbirth operations. In this way, they manipulate familiar gendered images which portray them as women, wives and mothers.

Children were used quite often by *mafazi*. This, however, was properly orchestrated. It was done through the day-to-day conversations. Maria, for instance, often talked about her sickly son to the gang or her marital status and her enormous responsibilities as a single mother raising boys alone (like most of their wives). Bonang had a small baby boy and the gang members

knew about him. The fact that he was a boy endeared him (and her) to them. Some days Bonang had to take the child to the clinic for vaccinations or stay at home to care for him. The workers also knew Bonang's husband, that he was not supportive or active in day-to-day child rearing activities. Male co-workers 'knew' about the children of their female co-workers, *mafazi*, they asked after them now and again. They knew a lot about the *mafazi* family conditions, the stories about absent or unsupportive male partners were familiar to gang members, and some could personally relate to them. So, when *mafazi* evoked them as their reasons for being late for work, or for being tired or even skipping a day, the workers easily sympathized. These were feelings that were cultivated daily by *mafazi* through conversations about their family conditions and their children.

The *mafazi*, therefore, through the day-to-day conversations allowed and encouraged views and attitudes which produced them as feminine, as 'good' domestic wives, fragile and in need of help and protection from men. According to Holmes and Schnurr (2006) and Pilgeram (2007), there are situations where people exploit their audiences' familiarity with stereotypical concepts associated with masculinity and femininity. This is done consciously and strategically; it is part of what Connell calls the 'gender games', and it elicits certain responses that temporarily benefit the performer.

7.4.2 Gender Games: "this is men's work, not women's work... we are only here because there are no other jobs"

The mafazi played gender games in ways that benefited them when they did not want to work. For instance, when allocated tasks they did not want to do, instead of completely refusing to do the tasks as money makers did, the mafazi did what they

called swaya-swaya. Maria said to swaya-swaya means to go-slow, to take long to do tasks,

> "if they send you to the stores to get material and you are tired of going up and down the stairs, you just swaya-swaya... so you take maybe an hour or two hours just to go to the stores instead of twenty minutes. Then they come to look for you and when they find you in the stores, they shout and shout and you just keep quiet and don't look at them... they carry the things you didn't want to carry in the first place... at that time you are smiling...they don't even know that they are helping you, they are thinking they are making things move fast and you are delaying them... you don't say no I won't do it, you just swaya... ".

To *swaya-swaya* is not seen as disrespectful since a *mafazi* is still agreeing to go do the work men are sending her to do. The silence when shouted at was also another way in which the *mafazi* were seen as respectful, obedient and not contesting men's authority (Guzana 2000; Gasa 2007b; 2007c; Motsemme 2004).[188]

Maria said that when she was new in mining she used to "explain" to them that, "carrying heavy support sticks hurts my wrists... if they see you falling off something like that, then it's easy...they believe you and feel bad, especially if there is a *madala* in your gang". Sylvia, another *mafazi* said: "they always say I cannot do this and I cannot do that and this and that...I'm a woman I should not be doing that... they want to do it for me, I like it that way".

[188] This is not to say that women's silence was an act of obedience. Gasa (2007b& 2007c) and Motsemme (2004) demonstrate that, *when chosen*, women's silence can be an exercise of authority, a refusal, a form of defiance (Gasa 2007) and courage (Motsemme 2004). Motsemme (2004:910) argues that women's silences form part of the "economy of the invisible".

She went on to say that, "…when there is no one to help, I do the work... and I do the difficult jobs too… I do not have the option of being a pikinini, so I do it". The *mafazi* therefore, constructed themselves as weak and unfit for mine work in the presence of men willing to assist them. But in their absence they did the work. Their actions were very deliberate and strategic; they produced their own marginality and deployed their agency in ways that benefitted them.[189]

It is apparent that they capitalized on ideas held by men which painted women as fragile and unable to cope with underground work and used these very ideas to get men to work for them. At the same time though, their practices of gender reproduced and sustained masculine normativity underground (intentionally or unintentionally), and reproduced the conditions of their inequality (Jorgenson 2002: 356).

While *mafazi* said that they could do mine work, they argued that they could not do it daily, as is required in mining. While admitting that at home, as *mafazi*, they had to do physically demanding work, they also pointed that this was not done daily.[190] To repeatedly do mine work, *mafazi* argued, required masculine strength, something they didn't have: "its men's work, not women's work". In a conversation at the change house a woman revealed that they also found underground work to be "dirty for women", to be incompatible with femininity and the stopes to be harmful to them.[191] Several women made remarks about the stope being too hot and causing them harm. Gontse for instance went on to say that: "when I go there I get heavy

[189] See also Kandiyoti's (1988) Bargaining with Patriarchy
[190] This complicates the assertion made by Bozzoli (1983) where she argues that African women could do physically demanding labour. Admittedly mine women co-workers were second and third generation from Bozzoli's women and had had different experiences regarding manual labour.
[191] Lahiri-Dutt (2006:164-166) reflects on the historical origins and constructions of these ideas of mine work as dirty, heavy, risky and inappropriate for women.

periods... it's not good for women". Others blamed the harmful stopes for miscarriages and as a result they withdrew from physically demanding work.

The attitudes held by *mafazis'* towards mine work and tasks associated with men underground and their 'quiet' refusal to be permanently located in the stopes (which were the epitome of masculinity), was seen as attempts to preserve femininity and was interpreted as showing reverence for men (who were the real and legitimate mineworkers) and respect for men's space, what is known as *ukuhlonipha*[192] (to respect) (Finlayson 2004).

7.4.3 Language Game or *Ukuhlonipha*?

The refusal to be in the stope underground was accompanied by a refusal to use the spatially corresponding language, Fanakalo. Mama Mavis for instance explained to me that she does not speak Fanakalo at all because it is for men, not women. She said in Setswana: "*Ga ke bue Fanakalo, ga se puo ya basadi, ke ya banna... e seng ya rona basadi... Ke fetola ka Setswana... tsatsi le lengwe ke a tlhologanya, fela e seng ga ntsi... basadi ba bantsi fa, ga ba bue Fanakalo, gantsi ke banna ba e buang*".[193](I don't speak Fanakalo. It's not our language as women, it's for men... not us... I just respond in Setswana...sometimes I understand, but not much…a lot of women here don't speak Fanakalo, mainly men). She associated Fanakalo with men, not necessarily only the mines.

[192] According to Finlayson (2004:280), "the term *hlonipha* in its broad sence can apply to any custom of respect, such as the manner in which a headscarf is tied or the avoidance of certain areas of the homestead" and certain syllables.
[193] I would like to thanks Lerato Motloung and Nelisiwe Khanyile for their help with the Setswana translations.

When she heard me speak Fanakalo she regularly reminded me that, "*haye o tswaneli*" (It does not suit you) and that I should speak other 'proper' languages like Setswana or English. Mama Mavis' infamous, "*haye o tswaneli*" had a double meaning based on class and gender. As a student she said I should not be speaking such a 'silly' language and also as a woman I could not expect men to respect me if I spoke "like that, like 'them'". Fanakalo was therefore a language for 'them' not for women in most *mafazi's* eyes.[194] Mama Mavis' distancing and refusal to speak Fanakalo was also a refusal to give an impression that she identified as a mineworker; a man. Her responses (and those of other *mafazi*) illuminated the gendering of Fanakalo (Holmes & Schnurr 2006). She was, thus, symbolically distancing herself from the masculinity seen to be embodied in the language.

Since she vehemently refused to speak *Fanakalo* Mama Mavis used Setswana and sometimes, though very rarely, English. According to Fanon (1986: 38), "to speak a language is to take on a world, a culture", and in that vein, Mama Mavis' refusal to speak Fanakalo was a refusal of that world and its culture. She was refusing full incorporation, "honorary citizenship" and assumption of a mineworker identity. Mama Mavis' Setswana was also not direct; she used a lot of words that symbolized respect. For instance, she called every man *ntate*, including younger men. A direct translation for *ntate* is father, and is also used by married women to refer to their husbands or to elderly men as a sign of respect. The language she chose to use is associated with submissive wives, free of swear words (Herbert 1998; Sasson-Levy 2003; Finlayson 2004).

[194] Besides being seen as a language for men, it was also seen as a language that separates insiders from outsiders (see Chinguno 2013; Alexander et al 2012).

Mafazi engaged in the language game. When addressing Setswana speaking men they spoke in the local Setswana language and when addressing Xhosa men they mixed Setswana with basic isiZulu or isiXhosa, often in a low voice and using linguistic hedges[195] (Finlayson 2004; Holmes & Schnurr 2006; Kondo 1990). In this way the *mafazi* convincingly performed respectful femininities. They were very deliberate with their body language, adhering to what is considered to be proper for respectful women (Finlayson 2004). In other words, the *mafazi* strategically used linguistic features associated with stereotypical femininity to their benefit (Holmes & Schnurr 2006), they used language to reinforce the construction of gendered subjectivities (Kondo 1990). For instance, in line with what is 'culturally' considered a respectful behaviour by women when addressing an elder, Mama Mavis hardly moved her hands when she talked, she held them together in front of her body with her eyes averted from whoever she was addressing. She also did not think it appropriate to speak at safety meetings and preferred to speak directly to her miner, not in, "their meetings where men are talking about their safety". As an outsider she wanted to minimise attention directed at her.

Finlayson's (2004) work on *Women's Language of Respect* in the Nguni languages[196] sheds light as to why *Fanakalo* and the rough and sometimes obscene words associated with it were shunned by *mafazi*. Using the Nguni concept of *ukuhlonipha*, she argues that, as a symbol of respect women were culturally expected to avoid using certain words[197] and avoid certain areas, such as the *kraal* (an animal enclosure), in the homestead which were frequented by men or

[195] This was more the case to avoid sexual connotations attached to some words or to avoid saying the names of elders and in-laws. Finlayson (2004:281) states that "from the time that the woman enters her in-laws' home she may not pronounce words containing any syllable that is part of the names occurring among her husband's relatives".

[196] Finlayson (2004) draws similar conclusions about Sothos. See also Bank's (2011) references on Hunter (1936) about the use of Hlonipha- which he describes as the language of deference and respect among the Xhosa.

[197] For examples of these words and how they are used see Finlayson (2004: 284-294)

the husband's family. She asserts that married women had to consciously avoid certain syllables and formulate words to replace those they could not use. This was seen as respectful towards one's husband and in-laws. Similarly, *mafazi's* refusal to speak *Fanakalo*, a masculine language according to mineworkers, was interpreted by male workers as *ukuhlonipha*, especially the Xhosa and Sotho men. The *mafazi* were thus seen as showing reverence by keeping a distance from men's stopes and their language.

7.4.4 Commitment to domesticity and femininity

Another key distinguishing feature for *mafazi* was their contingent relationship with work which was marked by leaving work early, even during pressured times. For other male workers and a few women such as *madoda straight*, the expectations were different. They had to be willing to leave work late and sometimes start earlier than expected. These sacrifices by gang members usually resulted in teams meeting their monthly production targets. Watts (2009), who looked at the engineering industry, argues that the culture of long hours and the "culture of presentisms", and visibility at work was seen as devotion to the profession. As a result, those who were able to show this kind of commitment were rewarded with promotions and seen as collegial, while those who did not were seen as deviants and had to adopt different styles of relating with their work in order to be taken seriously.

Mafazi maneuvered commitment differently. Since they distanced themselves from mine work and the mineworker identity, and chose instead to emphasise their domesticity, their femininity and roles at home as mothers and wives, their co-workers did not have such expectations of them. As a result, their 'contingent relationship' with work was perceived as an attempt to hold on to respectability as 'good' women, mothers and wives who could not be kept outside the

home beyond the normal hours. The *mafazi*, men argued, had to be back home at decent hours and not too late to cook for their husbands.

For instance, Bonang, who was sometimes seen as a *money maker* and other times, like below, as a *mafazi*, said she has made "arrangements" with her team:

> "To arrive an hour late...I have to take my kids to crèche… I'm supposed to be at work at 5:00am, going down the cage...the woman who runs the crèche is doing me a favour... she said she can only take them from 5 o'clock…the crèche opens at 7:00am… I drop them off at 5:00am, at crèche at 5:00am and then I come to work, I arrive here around 6:00am or 6:30am, then I change and come down... they sleep on the chairs until other kids arrive at 7:00am…".

These kinds of invocations by *mafazi*, and to a lesser degree by *money makers*, appealed to men.

Some of the men in Bonang's gang understood these responsibilities and could relate them to their own wives. Therefore, there was no hostility towards the *mafazi* who did not show the same commitment to extra working hours as shown by men. They were simply seen as good women who take care of their families and prioritize them above work. And good women were supported. *Mafazi* did not have to comply with the culture of visibility. Men willingly released them.

When I worked with Tshire, our co-workers usually told us to go on *chayile* "knock off" "to go and "prepare food for your families". If we were still busy with work, they would take over the work and tell us to leave it with them saying: "we do not want your husbands to think we

are bad men". Other times they would release us saying that they would expect other men to release their wives too to go and prepare food for them. The idea of *mafazi* as good wives and as mothers was clearly supported.

7.4.5 Unionism: "Those are for men... it's like going to an imbizo[198] when you are a mfazi"

Linked to women's commitment to their work was the attendance of women's meetings. There were two types of worker's meetings: union meetings and women's meetings. *Mafazi* attended the latter religiously but distanced themselves from the former. Bonang, for instance, said she attended women's meetings precisely because of the challenges she faces as a woman and mother who works in the mines. She saw women's meetings as a space to air her feelings around their challenges as women, not just as a worker.

While *mafazi* attended the women-only meetings, which were usually in the mornings, they distanced themselves from meetings called by the union which were mainly in the afternoons. They cited family responsibilities for skipping these.[199] Also, they saw these meetings as work meetings and, since they did not identify as real mineworkers but as *mafazi* and did not engage in mine work, per se, they did not see the need to attend union meetings. Furthermore, *mafazi* identified themselves and their relationship to their work as 'helpers' or peripheral actors, not core worker. As a result, attending meetings that were primarily about work and for those who identified as workers, not helpers, was not justifiable. This is also because they did not identify with the union as members or workers, but as women.

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[198] Imbizo is a discussion forum or a mass meeting, and traditionally it is attended by men, though this has changed.

[199] This does not only characterize women's relationship to mining unions but other unions as well. Tshoaedi (2012) and Tshoaedi and Hlela (2006) also noted similar trends in other unions affiliated with COSATU.

Most *mafazi* were nominal members[200] of traditional trade unions such as the NUM[201] and the AMCU[202], which organised mainly low skilled workers and not the UASA.[203] The UASA has a history of organising mainly white and coloured workers with a historically focus on white officials. From their remarks most *mafazi* associated unions with men. Mama Mavis, for instance, when asked why she does not participate in union activities and meetings said: "those are for men... it's like going to an *imbizo* when you are a *mfazi*". By invoking an *imbizo*, a gathering mainly associated with men, she was communicating her view of the union as masculine and their meetings as spaces that deal with issues that pertain to men. Consequently, she did not see the need to attend. She also alluded to the violence during union strikes[204] and "as a mother" the violence did not sit well with her. She asked: "who would take care of my children if I get killed or injured in their strikes?" *Mafazi*, therefore, saw participating in union meetings, and especially strike actions, as a direct transgression of boundaries which portray them as proper women or respectable wives (Weinstein 2006: 163).[205] As a result, they detached from union activities rather than negotiating their terms of engagement with them (Kenny 2004).

[200] Joining a union was 'mandatory', it was part of workers' workplace induction and one could not be a confirmed employee without having a union signature on their induction sheet. Consequently, some workers were only nominal members and could not necessarily not have a union.
[201] For a comprehensive history of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in South Africa see Allen (1992, 2003a 2003b; Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu 2006; 2010, Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout 2010; Moodie 1994)
[202] Chinguno (2013; 2015) gives a detailed history of the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union.
[203] See Mantashe (2009:49-67) for an overview on the origins of UASA
[204] See Von Holdt 2010; Bezuidenhout et al 2005; Bezuidenhout 1998; Buhlungu and Bezuienhout 2008; Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu 2010; Alexander et al 2012; Alexander 2013; Chinguno 2012; 2013; 2015
[205] See Ellen Baker (2006) in Mercier and Gier (2006) on men's views about women who attend strikes. See also Beckwith (2001) who explores the correlation between peaceful and violence collective action and gender. Union leaders tapped into various gender frames- such as values, symbols, beliefs and language to influence workers' behaviour during strikes, they regendered strike discourse by aligning gender frames to existing masculinities.

According to most *mafazi*, the "violence...jumping up and down on the streets" and "...demanding more money", all of which were seen as uncharacteristic of *mafazi,* also contributed to their disinterest. At all three focus group interviews women remarked that during strikes, "workers (men) are unruly ... they do not listen...they made one woman parade naked and took videos of her... she was a *gundwane* (a scab)…you think they care about us? No, they see all women as *amagundwane*". The ways of being at strikes, "the rituals associated with strikes or protests… conflicted with dominant standards of feminine behaviour" (Weinstein 2006: 163) for *mafazi*. Other *mafazi* also made remarks about strikes being illegal. Tshire[206] for instance said: "these strikes are illegal, how can you expect anything legal to happen there. Who will protect you if they do something to you? There are no laws or sexual harassment policies when they are striking." She was implying that during a strike the gender rules of respect get turned on its head. As Tshire said: "they can do as they please to you", alluding to the overturning of gendered rules of respect during strikes.

7.4.6 Mafazi Summary

Mafazi's performances of femininity, and their invocation by male workers, reinforced familiar ideas and evoked images of women as incompetent and unfit for underground work. The ways in which male workers addressed *mafazi*, the ways they described them as incapable of mine work or as flowers that should only watch while men worked, produced *mafazi*. *Mafazi's* views that mine work is fundamentally irreconcilable with their femininity (Hauser 2011; Idahosa & Vincent 2014; Enloe: 1983, 2004: 940) led to performances which allowed them to distance themselves from mine work. They avoided mine work on the basis that it is men's work; they

[206] Tshire was a real mafazi not a mafazi, but these views were also expressed by a lot of mafazi.

avoided certain spaces such as the stope for the same reason, and because of this were viewed by male co-workers as respectful of men and the underground gender hierarchies and spaces. They displayed "the acceptable face of femininity" and conformed to appropriate gender performances which enabled them to stand on the margins, "looking like flowers" and displayed, "traits that characterize them as women first" (Puwar 2004:75; William 1991). Their male co-workers' "insistent invocation of femininity" (Salzinger 2003: 15), regardless of their enactment, influenced the production of the *mafazi* femininity. As 'respectable' wives *mafazi* performed gender in ways that did not challenge, disrupt or transform the gender structure and order. Through exaggerations of femininity they reproduced, reinforced and legitimized gender inequalities, masculine normativity and hegemony, its interests and desires (Connell 1987). Accordingly, their performances of gender gained them approval from male co-workers, but not equal status with them (Jackman 1994). This 'approval', Sasson-Levy (2003: 460) argues, is precisely what makes women like *mafazi* "loyal citizens of the existing gender regime" and as such, act as custodians for the masculine mining culture and structure.

Important to note is that their actions do not only preserve the interests of hegemonic masculinity, but their own interests as *mafazi* since these enabled them to get away with not doing the much dreaded physically demanding mine work, but easier peripheral work. In other words, they engendered their own marginality, a productive marginality (hooks 1989). *Mafazi* manipulated pervasive ideas of feminine incompatibility with mining to their advantage (Hauser 2011: 624). Tapping into domestic or feminine roles allowed them to adopt an outsider position. In that way they fostered conditions that enabled them to escape mine work with all its accompanying expectations and avoid being labelled lazy and incompetent.

Mafazi, therefore, were not necessarily 'victims' of gender expectations, but actively and strategically enacted a version of femininity they found most beneficial. The very fact that they enacted conventional femininity underground was, in itself, a spatial contestation since underground spaces are seen as uncompromisingly and exclusively masculine (Holmes & Schuur 2006).

7.5 "Women in Mining": Money makers

The second version of femininity I want to focus on was known as "w*omen in mining"* or *money makers*. The expression "women in mining" was stated in English to sarcastically say that women cannot be in mining and to refer to the 'policy' regime, which has sought to encourage the employment of women, as I outlined in the Introduction. Others referred to them as *money makers*, because some (both men and women) believed that this group were in mining to "make money, not to work".[207] Reluctantly, and for analytical purposes only, I employ the term '*money makers'* to distinguish the *women in mining/money makers* group from the general category 'women in mining'. While women in mining are generally othered, *money makers* were "doubly othered" (McDowell 1999: 219) as I will demonstrate below.

Money makers were often young and had not worked before, but had been in mining for some time. Some were daughters of mineworkers and had gone beyond high school (Grade 12), unlike mafazi who had lower levels. Some had administrative qualifications, others were

[207] I am aware of, and identify with the criticisms of this term by feminists, that the term is laden with sexual overtones and is patronizing, especially when used on black women who have often been called Gold-Diggers (refer to Wallace, Townsend et al 2011, Ross and Coleman 2011 and Stephens and Phillips (2003) Rebollo-Gil and Moras (2012). I therefore use this term very cautiously, not to belittle the women (Hauser 2011) but to stay true to some of the words both male and female workers used to describe women who showed the features I describe below.

trained as auxiliary nurses and some were trained beauticians. They also had aspirations of going back to school to further their education or getting jobs related to their training outside mining. Unlike *mafazi* who emphasised being mothers, *money makers* emphasised an aspirational class status, as I will demonstrate below.

They were seen by other workers, especially male workers, as "opinionated"[208], not good women like the *mafazi*. They were also not good workers, but lazy and uncommitted to their work since they often refused work and made it clear that they did not want to be underground. Because of the way they (mis)behaved by refusing work and voicing opinions, they tended to attract hostility from their team members, unlike mafazi, and were relegated to tasks far from everyone, usually to work by themselves. Most of them preferred to work as pikinini and to be located on surface, not underground like *mafazi*. M*oney makers* who still worked underground worked in informal jobs and usually away from their teams and the stope. Unlike *mafazi*, who were willingly assisted and offered informal jobs by male co-workers who felt sorry for them, *money makers* initiated these informal job allocations by vocally refusing to do work allocated them, including the 'domestic work' that *mafazi* willingly accepted. This self-allocation was interpreted by male workers as disrespectful since it disregarded them as work allocation authorities. They also used their sexuality to avoid some of their work responsibilities.

[208] Being opinionated in this case is not only a descriptive word denoting a woman who speaks her mind but one who also has no regard or disrupts the gender boundaries. I find Gqola's (2001) "*uqavile*" very useful in capturing what the workers meant when they said *money makers* are opinionated. Gqola (2001:22) says "if a woman is opinionated, or '*uqavile'*, it means she speaks her mind, and is associated with socially transgressive behaviour, perceived as good or bad depending on the audience".

7.5.1 Navigating work: "I let my mine-overseer touch me... like my breasts and bums"

Important for survival and in addition to looking pretty like the *mafazi*, to 'get on and get by' (Phakathi 2012) *money makers* reported that they 'bribe' their co-workers. Several women in focus group discussions said that one has to bring nice lunch boxes or cold drinks to work or, "...month end when we get bonus, I just buy them KFC or bring them drinks..." Similarly, Angela said:

> "For them to work for you... to ignore you and be nice to you, you have to come with a lunch box… be friendly …talk to them even when you don't want to…(another added) I always say this shaft has no sexual harassment we let them touch and hold us... but what can I do? I don't want to do this job".

This kind of performance of femininity complicated the distinction between a bribe and sexual harassment since letting them touch and hold you was also used as a legitimate bargaining chip. Nelisiwe, for instance, said that in order to work on surface she had to, "let my mine-overseer touch me... Like my breasts and bums... I *let* him...you must laugh or he'll think you are cheeky... if he sees that you are resisting then he can take you back underground... I don't want to go back there, I let him touch ...just pretend to laugh". Refusing men to touch and hold when you are a *money maker* usually led to punishment[209]; one could be alienated by their team or sent back underground if they worked on surface as pikinini. Because *money makers* 'let' men touch them they were labelled as loose and sexually available (Sasson-Levy 2003). With

[209] When mafazi refused it was interpreted differently as respecting their bodies and marriages. Men who tried touching mafazi were scolded by others as if they had broken a masculine code which is premised on protecting each other's wives.

money makers their sexualisation by male co-workers went beyond words (discursive sexualisation), to touching them.

The bribes were also seen as ways of showing 'gratitude' by m*oney makers* and most said that it encourages men. At the focus group discussion Angela went on to say:

> …sometimes I buy them chibuku[210], especially on Saturdays…when they come to you and touch you, you mustn't go like 'hey you', screaming and shouting, don't fight… you just have to let them, when they do that (imitating a hand spank on the butt)... not that you are letting them touch you, you are ju-u-u-u-st…call them "my man, my man"… but you cannot do this with many men, you have to choose because they appreciate it… the privilege of being called 'my man' or 'my love', sweety-pie- please do this for me", and they oblige.

Money makers, as demonstrated by Angela above, to show gratitude also skilfully and consciously used language in ways that benefited them (Holmes & Schurr 2006) that helped them get help from men. Thompson (1991), in his introductory remarks on Bourdieu's *Language and Symbolic Power*, acknowledges the power of language and instrumentality of words. In this case Angela demonstrated how calling her male co-workers 'sweety-pie', can be used to control or manipulate them into doing work for her or to gain favours.

The ways in which *money makers* 'bribed' their male co-workers seemed to also reinforce the domestic archetype; they brought them food. By consenting to men's use of "affectionate language" (my man, my love, sweety-pie) and touch (including spanks), they were validating

[210] Commercialized traditional beer

and normalizing gender power relations (Sasson-Levy 2003), which were centred on women being subordinate.

7.5.2 Work Allocation: "I'm his assistant now (*pikinini*), I help him with plans and measurements underground"

While often accused of being lazy, *money makers* did not see themselves as lazy. They saw themselves as different from men and hence felt that they could not be expected to do the same work as them. To justify and legitimise the differences the *money makers* evoked bodies. In many informal group conversations women often remarked that women who cannot sew the winch rope are not lazy, they just do not have the same strength as men. In a focus group discussion Lerato said: "… I have kids… I had an operation... I have a womb and a womb is very complicated, so you cannot expect me to do the same job as men... I tell them no, I won't do that...I just cannot... no, no". Due to her caesarean section operations, which other women also claimed to have had, she said she could not be expected to comply with work allocations which did not take her operations into account. *Money makers*, therefore, contested male authority to delegate work underground.

During an interview Babalwa, who was working as a pikinini on surface, said:

> I worked as an equipment helper for 6 months and I couldn't do it, I just could not, I asked my chibass (shiftboss) to take me to (the) training centre… I came back after a month and went to operate the winch... soon as I arrived I knew it was not for me… I hate being in the stope the whole day… you come back stinking… I stopped operating it but I was still with the crew underground for 6-8 months… the shiftboss asked me to help him on surface… I'm his assistant

> now (pikinini), I help him with plans and measurements underground... … As a shiftboss assistant I give instructions (what's a shiftboss assistant?) they call it a pikinini, but I don't like that (pikinini), I'm an assistant. I do all the work that a chibass (shiftboss) does… When I'm done with my job, I go and 'help' my crew. Not all assistants do this, others just leave as soon as they are done.

Babalwa was a 'typical' *money maker*; she refused work but wanted the money. She changed occupations a lot with and without the consent of her co-workers. She preferred being on surface to being underground, doing administrative work for the shiftboss rather than manual labour with her co-workers. By not operating the winch during her last 6-8 months before she became a "shiftboss assistant", she contested the authority of men to delegate work; she also contested the formal job allocations by shifting to occupations she was comfortable with or at least requiring less physical exertion. Even her refusal to be called a pikinini and insisting on being called a 'shiftboss assistant' was in itself a contestation of naming and a reconstruction of her surface position as a position with status, not a pikinini which implies a runner, someone who is informally working and even doing favours for supervisors (Moodie and Ndatshe 1994). Babalwa too evoked her body as the main reason she refused to operate the winch and to work underground. Important to keep in mind, also, is that these were younger women, there was a generational difference between them and the mafazi.

7.5.3 Contested and constructed identities: "I'm not a mineworker...I work in the mines"

As a result of *money maker's* associations of mine work and underground work with low status they contested and rejected formal work allocation. As indicated above, they also refused to be

located underground, especially in the stopes. Consequently, most of them ended up on surface. Co-workers interpreted this as a lack of commitment to mine work, but m*oney makers* had different subjective interpretations. They argued that they were "not mineworkers" and therefore could not be expected to 'be' like mineworkers. In other words, they could not be expected to show the same commitment to underground mine work as those who were 'real' workers. The *money makers* identified themselves as "working in the mines" and not as mineworkers. To prove that they were simply "working in the mines" they pointed to the fact that they were mainly located on surface (or far from the stope if underground) unlike real mineworkers who are underground in the thick of production. To drive home that she's not a mine worker but works in the mines, Babalwa said: "*ena mgodi muntu, ena muntu kalo mine mina hayi khona mgodi muntu, mina*" (they (men) are mine/underground people, they are mineworkers, I'm not a mine person, I am me).

The *money makers*, therefore, identified not as mineworkers, but as "workers in mining" and as also as themselves, *mina mina mina*, (I am me), thus distancing themselves from a mineworker identity. This distancing from a mineworker identity and reconstruction of identity enabled *money makers* to also distance themselves from expectations and norms leveled on mineworkers and underground rationality (Kvande 1999), and opened a space to perform gender in ways that deviated from mine norms and expectations. Their non-compliance with underground norms, however, gained them labels such as 'lazy' and "only in mining to make money".

This was different from the labels given to *mafazi* who acted like *money makers*. Since m*afazi* portrayed themselves as 'women first' or mothers, wives and family oriented, not just as themselves or even as 'working in mining', their practices at work were often not scrutinized.

When *mafazi* were scrutinized, the logic used and assessment reached was different from that used and reached when evaluating *money makers*. For *mafazi*, for example, leaving work early or as soon as it was *chayile* (knock-off time) was not necessarily viewed as laziness or even as 'leaving work' but as 'going home' to service the family, to be 'good wives' or 'good mothers'. Their actions were not evaluated based on what they were doing (leaving work early to catch the cage), but what they were going to do (to cook for their husbands or families- a duty of a 'noble' woman).[211] For *money makers*, however, it was the opposite. Their deviance from both underground gender norms and feminine sensibilities as understood by mineworkers led to negative responses and penalties (Puwar 2004) and resulted in labels such as 'lazy'.[212] The penalties included exclusion from teams and relegation to an even lower status than that occupied by *mafazi* and labelling them as deviants (Collinson & Collinson 1996; Schurr 1983; West & Zimmerman 1987). The exclusion was a strategy used to police and silence women, "who step(ed) outside their allotted place" (Puwar 2004: 89).

While *money makers* had a reputation of being lazy underground, on surface they were committed to their informal (administration) work. Babalwa talked about staying at work and plotting the stopes until late in the afternoon or even early evening:

> "... Say the surveyors are taking measurements... I make sure I plot everything, zonke lo ma panel ena fanelile ena khona lapha kalo graph (all the panels have to appear on the graph)... wenaz bukile yena lapha office (did you see them

[211] As one madala said when I asked why they were letting the woman in their crew leave earlier than other women- he described her as- *lo mafazi ena hloniphekile, thina hayi khona bamba yena lo skati ena funa kuyenza lo muhle yinto lapha kalomuzi kayena*- she's a noble woman, how can we prevent her from doing such as wonderful thing (cook and care her husband) at home. See Yao (2006) for constructions of and emphasis on women miners as good wives as oppose to good workers.
[212] See Patricia Hill Collins (2000) on "controlling images".

> when you went to the office)....that thing is difficult, but I do it, I am good at it, my chibass knows...better than him but he is the one who taught me... now that I'm doing it, it looks nicer and its clear… you know what I do? I use different colours, not just the pencil like him…you have to make sure you use the right colours... I do reports for him and I brief him... I'm his assistant…really, I do all of the difficult work... I stay here until late... if they (male workers) are still underground I wait and wait... then I plot their panel ... by that time there are no buses to go to the hostel... no taxis to go home because it's too late... my chibass (shift-boss) takes me because I help him".

Money makers, while not constructing themselves as good mineworkers or good women, actively constructed themselves as good (surface) workers who "wait and wait" if need be. To legitimize being surface workers, *money makers* joined the union that most surface workers join, UASA (see also Mantashe 2009), the one associated with white collar work, more educated and white workers.

7.5.4 Unionisation: "UASA cares about its members, not this NUM politics politics"

Unlike *mafazi* above, *money makers* welcomed participating in women structures set up by the mine and used these structures to voice their grievances, but not necessarily union meetings which they saw as the preserve of men. While they attended meetings organised by women's structures, they held deeply "anti-union sentiments", complaining that unions do not help, specifically traditional unions such as the NUM.[213] Most *money makers* who were members of

[213] Tshoaedi and Hlela 2006; Tshoaedi 2012; Buhlungu and Tshoaedi 2012; Benya 2009; 2013.

the NUM and AMCU said they were nominal members, and the majority of them preferred UASA, which they did not consider as a **"**real real union" but as an association, "they represent us... even outside the mines... if you are in trouble...they can give you a lawyer, so it's not a real real union.." Mantashe thus characterises UASA as a business union. He argues that, "UASA is not a classical union. It is a business service union which retains membership through benefits as opposed to trade union service" (2009: 66). It is exactly these benefits that are appealing to women.

Precisely because of their experiences at work and of being relegated to the margins, they criticized the NUM and AMCU for not taking their grievances, including sexual harassment grievances, seriously.[214] Several *money makers* who had reported incidents of sexual harassment made references to how union officials often told them that men are "appreciating", not harassing them. This was consistent with the normalized sexualisation of *money makers*. Reporting sexual harassment was seen as "another complaint" from the delinquent women and, as a result, their cases were hardly pursued.[215] While they used their sexuality and tolerated advances from men to get advantages, there were (fluid) boundaries depending on the marital status of the woman, how long you've known her for and what she is getting in return.

M*oney makers* were also aggrieved by the union's marginalization of gender issues. For example, the personal protective equipment which are designed for men's bodies (Benya 2009) and the pregnancy policy which demands that a pregnant woman either be given alternative employment on surface or sent home if no alternative employment can be found.[216] This has

[214] See also Benya 2009; 2013b.
[215] See Murray and Peetz (2010) on sexual harassment in Australian coal mines
[216] See Benya 2009 for more discussion on mine pregnancy policy

resulted in a number of women going on early and unpaid maternity leave. Furthermore, the *money makers* argued that members of the traditional unions and the unions themselves do not take them seriously as workers, only as "assistants" and women who are misfits in mining.

Maria pointed to the macho culture associated with mining unions. She argued: "they are too political… I'm here to work for my children, *mara ena lo union, ena thanda politics sterek* (but this union likes politics too much)". According to Maria, this concern with politics was the reason, "the NUM does not take us serious... or sexual harassment…or PPE complaints. "What's PPE compared to politics?" she asked. There was a sharp disjuncture between how the regional NUM officials interviewed viewed their role in national politics and how women related to it. An NUM regional coordinator, Sithethi, saw this as a victory and as strategic.[217] He argued that it helps the union to have an influential voice in national politics. Women, specifically *money makers* who were the most critical of traditional unions, viewed this as a distraction and as one of the primary reasons workers' issues are secondary. As a result of these criticisms and grievances, some of the *money makers* detached from unions while others joined UASA. *Money makers* alluded to the fact that, "UASA does not expect us to join strikes...remember when there was a strike in February and a few weeks ago when we were not going underground? They sent us SMSes telling us not to come (to work)" said Gontse. The reluctance to participate in politics, especially strikes, is also noted by Mantashe (2009) who was at that time the General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers. Quoting Malan (1968), he argues that for over 50 years UASA, "never disrupted production by disturbance or strike" (2009: 50) and for an additional 58 year after that, the union never participated in strikes

[217] See also Maree 1998; Buhlungu 2001; 2006; Moodie 1994; Mantashe 2009 on the official NUM's take on their involvement in national politics not just worker politics.

(Mantashe 2009:66). For *money makers* the lack of emphasis on strikes and focus on benefits was construed as care. They spoke about an "ethic of care" (McDowell 2004) that has been demonstrated by UASA shaft representatives and juxtaposed this to what they saw as being taken for granted by the NUM.

Dimpho picked up on the lack of care in the way NUM treated her. She said:

> "my father worked in the mines all his life.... not this shaft but he was a mineworker for this company, he drove the busses... my brother was also a mineworker, he died here... my father told me about NUM....I was told (by HR) that I needed to join a union, so when I got there (NUM offices), they just asked me my name and took down my details. Hayi (no) I realized that these people are not serious, they are playing. I expected a booklet with information, you know? So I went to UASA, you know what they did? They gave me a booklet to read, they explained a few things to me. They made time for me… Those people also have benefits. I saw that the UASA people knew their story… NUM everyone was busy, busy in the office... always on TV for politics... no care for us workers".

She later added that: "My father tried to convince me to join NUM he said UASA is for white people, I told him no, a union is a union and that's all… and I like UASA it is more than a union". Dimpho's experience in the NUM office resonated with how most women said they were treated by the union when they went to lodge complaints. They were constantly made to fill out forms but provided with hardly any tangible assistance thereafter if it had to do with 'gender issues'.

Other women said they joined UASA because they had benefits and seemed to address the grievances taken for granted by the other two traditional unions.[218] For instance, in all three focus group discussions, UASA members who had been pregnant claimed that they received R1000 after their return from maternity leave and upon producing a birth certificate of the child. They also enjoyed weekends at lodges or day trips to Sun City at discounted rates, something they would struggle to afford without the UASA negotiated discounts. Angela added that during her annual leave she went to Port Elizabeth (PE)[219] with her friends who are nurses, "...it was my first time going so far… I had never been to PE". And, according to her, the bus ticket was "cheap" because she had a discount "they send us SMSes to tell us about discounts for lodges... for the bus, you pay less". They stayed in a three star lodge, which she argued was also part of the UASA benefits. Other UASA benefits Angela mentioned were, "… you can get a (bank) loan... UASA does not just represent you at work… UASA gives lawyers also in case you get arrested".

Minnie who is married to a pastor said: "I only pay R65 a month and NUM is R78... if you want a car, they have deals with McCarthy".[220] Women also revealed that through UASA they have access to insurance and burial institutions: "when you join UASA you also get a funeral plan or something like that…Avbob…like when a relative you've registered dies, you get money...you give them 5 names when you register and when one of them dies, they give you money, R3000 for each person" said Dimpho. Nonzi, who is a pikinini, seconded the funeral

[218] For more on other women's grievances neglected by unions see Benya 2012; 2013b
[219] See Nite and Stewart (2012)
[220] McCarthy are car dealerships that sell pre-owned, demo and new cars. They also tend to finance the car sale and also specialise in car insurance, service and sell parts and accessories. There are McCarthy Volkwagen, Audi, Nissan and Ford dealerships.

benefits: “When someone at home dies, I can go to Avbob[221] and produce my UASA card and get a discount...even for car purchase”. Lebo, who is not originally from Rustenburg, said: “When I go to Upington I get a discount if I use Intercape”. UASA benefits resonated with how *money makers* viewed themselves and enabled them to claim a respectable status. Through the benefits it legitimized their claims to a non-working class status; UASA seemed to represent and talk to their aspirations to a different lifestyle, one higher than what NUM and AMCU represent.

Since m*oney makers* self-identified simply as ‘workers’, not ‘mineworkers’ and not ‘women workers’, they saw no need to join a mining union in the strict sense. The difference between these categories was significant for women and how they made sense of unionization. Identifying as a mineworker meant one had internalized mineworker identity and resigned him or herself to mine work. Mineworkers were seen as those who work permanently in the stopes, often men, not educated and of lower status than how the women positioned and identified themselves. Identifying as a mineworker meant accepting and internalizing the working class status which is linked to having a union. Being a ‘worker in mining’, however, did not have the same symbolism or status. Joining UASA, therefore, was seen as appropriate since it de-emphasised mining and was more general.

In addition to identifying as ‘workers in mining’, *money makers* also saw themselves as workers in transition. It seemed that their transitory status (real or imagined) was another contributing factor to their detachment from traditional unions, and preference for UASA. Lerato said that underground and mining is like a waiting place, “It’s better to be here and wait

[221] An insurance and funeral policy.

here for a job from here than to stay at home and wait there... if you are here you will know first about other jobs... so if you join a (traditional) union and then get another job, then what? Then you leave it and join your real union?" In Lerato's case joining a 'mining' union would therefore contradict her conceptions of this phase as temporary, it would symbolize permanency, which she categorically rejected.

Lerato had a post-matric qualification for office administration, a white-collar job, hence she saw mining as temporary, especially underground. In her positioning of herself *vis-a-vis* mining, unionisation and her education qualification, there was a class element. For her the traditional mining unions symbolized, or rather she associated them with, a class lower than hers. This was drawn from what she and other women in the focus group said about traditional unions representing mineworkers who are not like them, who are "not educated", "urbanized" or "modernized".[222] Tshego, who was a Tswana speaker from the North-West province, made remarks about the union being for, "rural migrants... like the RDOs, the men from the Transkei… *amathosa* (amaXhosa)".

To substantiate their claims that trade unions organise rural migrants and uneducated mineworkers, *money makers* like Lerato pointed to the members of NUM and AMCU stating that, "they organise mainly *lo malayisha* (lashers)", i.e. RDOs, winch operators and general workers underground. *Malayisha* is a derogatory term used to refer to someone who is not educated and who works as a manual labourer, who is at the bottom of the hierarchy with very

[222] The association of mineworkers with 'backwardness' was widespread in the local communities. A worker in Nite and Stewart (2012:162) reflecting on his view on mineworkers before becoming one he says "I used to see mineworkers as I stayed with my parents next to the mine. They were people who were always dirty. Their clothes were always dirty and they never used to wear shoes. They walked long distances when transport was not available…I never thought of the idea that one day I would go there to look for employment. But I had no choice. I had to join them because I could not work anywhere else".

limited possibilities of going beyond the underground occupations. These representations profoundly conflicted with how *money makers* saw and represented themselves. By distancing themselves from the NUM and AMCU, the *money makers* were distancing themselves from the symbolism; what and who the unions represented. By associating with UASA, a union which organises white workers and middle management, they were associating with what they considered superior and powerful, possibly a higher class position, both appealing attributes to *money makers*.

Finally, as members of UASA *money makers* did not see the need to join strikes. In fact several women noted that UASA warns them not to be at work when there is a strike. They also questioned why they should join their strikes and expose themselves to vulnerabilities since they were not even wanted by other workers, "men tolerate us here...they do not really want women here, so to put yourself in a vulnerable position and go to a strike is not very clever… why would you do that.. You can be beaten up there if they think you are a *gundwane*". Because they did not identify as mineworkers, and because they felt like unwanted and merely tolerated workers, they feared joining union strikes.

7.5.5 Mine language: "they think you are stupid if you speak Fanakalo"

Language is even more central to the distinction of *money makers*. Like *mafazi*, *money makers* did not like speaking in Fanakalo. But, unlike *mafazi* who mainly spoke Setswana, *money makers* preferred to speak in English.

Money makers rejected Fanakalo because it was closely associated with the mineworker identity, with the mines, with underground, and the lack of respectability and low status

attributed to mineworkers by locals. Nelisiwe, for example, said locals, "they think you are stupid if you speak *Fanakalo*, they even make fun of us, calling us *Fanakalo... mosadi wa Fanakalo*" (the *Fanakalo* woman). These insults by community members contributed to *money makers*' refusal to speak *Fanakalo*, even underground. Their rejection to use it in the workplace was precisely because it legitimized one as a real mineworker. When a woman spoke *Fanakalo* she was given "honorary citizenship" (Puwar 2004: 108), or at least accepted as a legitimate worker or mineworker, an idea opposed by *money makers*.

Refusal to speak Fanakalo or a language like Fanakalo in South African townships is widespread amongst young people (Calteaux 1994; Schuring 1992). These authors found out that most young people associate Fanakalo with subjugation. It continues to be seen as undermining African languages and its existence is seen the same way Afrikaans was seen by the youth of 1976, as a language forced by colonial and apartheid masters (Patterson 2009).[223] Since *Fanakalo* is a product of exploitative and violent history and labour conditions, very much grounded in a racist linguistic hierarchy, young people continue to view it as humiliating. Considering that most *money maker* women were young and mainly grew up in townships around Rustenburg and other parts of the North-West and Gauteng provinces, their rejection of Fanakalo was not surprising.

While *money makers* did not speak Fanakalo, they used some of the vocabulary associated with Fanakalo, the boisterous terms intrinsic to the power of language underground, words such as

[223] Jacob Dlamini's (2009) *Native Nostalgia*, especially the chapter on The Language of Nostalgia, makes interesting and somewhat similar arguments about the use of Afrikaans by black township youth. On one hand Afrikaans is used to capture nostalgic memories under apartheid, but at the same time it is rejected in other contexts, especially when speaking to white Afrikaans speakers. He draws attention to the complex and complicated relationship black South Africans have with Afrikaans.

"*wena shit*"(you are shit), *sphukuphuku* (idiot). In principle women were not 'allowed' to use these words. They were considered rude and unfeminine; "*ena ayi khona muhle lo skati ena lo mfazi jopisa lo magama"* (It does not look good when a woman uses such words). *Money makers*, however, relentlessly used them to contest masculine authority and challenge traditional notions of femininity which were associated with mafazi. This demonstrates the way in which people act out gender through linguistics and discursive choices (Holmes & Schnurr 2006).

How then did the *money makers* communicate if they rejected Fanakalo but used the boisterous words associated with Fanakalo? Minnie, the pastor's wife said, whether she speaks Setswana or English, she swears a lot: "It is the only language they (men) understand ...I am short". Minnie said she can get away with swearing at them because they, "do not care about me, so it's not like they can tell me what to say... I can get away with it (swear words) here at work... One *madala* was telling me *shit*....like I have to stop speaking to them (men) like that, they are men, *ey wara wara*... I told him to fuck off. Who is he to tell me that? I'm not his wife, *fusteeeek* [224]*(*waving away)". While male workers' (and *madoda straight* women) use of these words was legitimizing and served to assert their mineworker identity and authority, *money makers*' use of the same vocabulary earned them labels such as 'loose' and 'aggressive'.

In describing how she manages to swear at work and not at church or home, Minnie said: "You see when you walk in they just press you these people, they push you...they push the wrong buttons... and call you names... so you have no choice but to leave that (respectful) attitude by

[224] *Fusteeeek* is an adaptation of voetsek—Afrikaans for fuck off.

the door and bull shit everybody ... and push... our language changes, we tend to use vulgar words and swear… I cannot finish a sentence without swearing". The "mine language", as Minnie called it, was only used at work, at home her pastor husband did not approve of it. At home she said she had to, "be a good *mamoruti* (pastor's wife)... cannot curse... not at church, *yhooo* that would be bad". Minnie, therefore, had to adapt her language to the multiple spaces she moved between; at home she embodied a respectable pastor's wife who did not curse, but and at work she used the language she reprimanded her congregants for, and this was normal for her; "if I want them to hear me...I'm short... they don't see me, but if I say *heyi wena masepa ahawo* (hey you testicles), they look for me... they see me". In the focus group other women also reiterated the same sentiments of being invisible, even though not all of them could use the same language, especially not *mafazi*. *Money makers,* therefore, were also differentiating themselves generationally from mafazi, and traditional femininity.

Women explained that this was their way of developing a 'thick skin' at work, and of suppressing or concealing their femininity (Rhoton 2011). As Minnie said, she's, "not a pastor's wife at work, I'm just a worker". By saying that Minnie was implying that she cannot be held to the same standard of behaviour or gender expectations at work as she is at home; the environment at work was different and necessitated that (short) women swear. What this also suggests is, unlike mafazi, this generation- younger women- did not want to be infantalised, or treated as 'fragile' or quiet and submissive, like mafazi who allowed this treatment as part of their 'traditional femininity' performance.

Language, therefore, is at the centre of the *money makers'* femininity and is key for how *money makers* negotiated spaces. The women drew distinctions between their practices of gender 'outside the (shaft) door' and when they 'get to the (shaft) door. At the shaft door they

abandoned the language associated with femininity and adopted one associated with masculinity characterized by rough language (Fisher 1984).

Maria, in one of our conversations, referring to the language she uses at work, said something that stood out to me. I captured this in my journal:

> … Before joining mining I was quiet and polite and had a soft heart (muhle ntliziyo) but I've since changed... two things changed me; the language and the hurtful words used underground. They say shit, sphukuphuku (idiot) fuck and futsek (fuck off) ...The words pierce your heart the first few times, but after a while you stop caring about them, they stop hurting you ...you learn to use them back or ignore them but your heart gets hard all that time, harder every time you hear them….. the language... The machine hardens the muscles and also your heart... As you lift the hard handles of the winch, your heart changes, you get angry that you have to endure so much hardship just to make a living and so you change and become hard like the machine and it becomes easy for you to use the words used here…like shit...sphukuphuku, futsek ...

Maria's description of how she came to use the mine language is also telling of how the identities women enact underground are engendered (and embodied) at work, in the relations at work and through engagement in the labour process. The use of language produced in her a different femininity from the one she identified with before mining, or even at home, and possibly between generation. Important to note is that Maria's identity often shifted between *money maker* and *mafazi*; with most of her gang members (who worked for her sometimes) she hardly used the rough language, she enacted a *mafazi* identity (observing all modes of respectability), but with the miner, with whom she often fought, she used the rough language.

Since *money makers* did not have respect at work, the language, or rather the swear words seemed vital to being heard. It was not only the words they used but *how* they talked, their body language which gets 'hard' with the hardening of muscles. The way *money makers* positioned themselves as simply workers, the way they were positioned by others as outsiders, their discursive and performative distancing from the mineworker identity and the way they talked seems, to lead to interpretations of their use of the vocabulary as swearing rather than using mine language, as was the case with *madoda straight* women. Their use of the words above was again used to label them as loose women as opposed to mineworkers. Minnie's refusal to use Fanakalo, and her insistence of using the rough words, was not seen as forming part of the mine language (with its nuanced rough vocabulary), but rather as disrespectful. This was a way of othering money *makers*. For Minnie and money makers, this was their way of distancing themselves from the class identity of mineworkers and distancing themselves from the older generation's notions of womanhood and respectability. The money makers therefore were trying to balance femininity but also trying to not be women in the ways the mafazi were.

7.5.6 Money makers: Summary

Money makers were sexualized more than *mafazi* and were seen by their co-workers as lazy and incompetent women who were not in mining to work but to make money. *Money makers* saw underground and mining as temporary stops, hence they preferred to work on surface when an opportunity was presented. They saw themselves as workers in transition to other 'better' jobs and so they distanced themselves from a mineworker identity, emphasizing instead that they were 'workers in mining'. This distancing from a mineworker identity also enabled them to distance themselves from traditions associated with mineworkers, namely the tradition of

joining a traditional union. *Money makers* therefore aligned themselves with UASA, a historically white union, and defied an old and deeply entrenched mining culture and associations black workers had with UASA.

From the narratives above *money makers'* performances of gender went against prescribed feminine behaviours (Gqola 2001), such as those of the mafazi, associated with traditional womanhood, or the older generation. They rejected the "controlling images" (Hill Collins 2000) and the gender stereotypes pervasive in mining by choosing to enact an alternative femininity or recalcitrant femininity which disregarded both masculine expectations of femininity and older women's forms of identification. *Money makers* carved out spaces for themselves by moving to surface where they could, "occup(y) the subject position" (Maqagi, as cited in Gqola 2001: 12) as opposed to a subordinate position underground. Additionally, by rejecting instructions from male supervisors and insisting on working in their own way; at their time, pace and place, following no-ones' orders, they challenged masculinity as having the delegating and interpretive authority underground (Gqola 2005) as well as older women to define the routes open to them to express their femininity. They disrupted male power (Kvande 1999). They inscribed their own order, a direct challenge to masculinity and the idealized versions of femininity (Sasson-Levy 2003: 459). As a penalty for challenging masculinity they ended up occupying an even lower status than that occupied by *mafazi*.

Money makers, seem to resonate with Sara Ahmed's (2014) willful subjects who are marked by 'refusals', willfulness and identified as a problem. They are what Ahmed (2010; 2012:6) describes as "killjoys", they "get in the way" of gender order and disrupt some gender stereotypes and gender expectations, they "go against a social order which is protected by a moral order" and this leads to their alienation (Ahmed 2010; 2012:). It is precisely because

they are killjoys, what Ahmed also calls 'willful subjects'[225], that there are such possibilities of deviation from the gender order or norm. It is this deviation, or 'wandering' away from the official paths that leads to a creation of "desire lines" or "faint marks on the earth, as traces of where you or others have been" and this wandering leaves footprints behind (Ahmed 2014:21). Willful acts of *money makers* are reinforced by their status in mining, the status of 'not being male' of not embodying mining masculinity as well as not being 'respectable' (older) women? (Ahmed 2014). They are therefore resisting against both the masculine expectations of women, as well as the emphasised womanhood enacted by the *mafazi*.

All of these performances of gender resulted in the marginalization of *money makers*. Together with *mafazi*, their marginality was strategically deployed, it allowed and enabled both femininities to evade mine work, but in different ways. It was therefore a positive and productive marginality (hooks 1989 and Spivak 1993, as cited in Idahosa & Vincent 2014). Marginality in this sense was, "much more than a site of deprecation". For hooks it was "a site of radical possibility, a space of resistance" and "a site of freedom, liberation, resistance and empowerment" (Idahosa & Vincent 2014:16). According to hooks (1989; 1990: 149-150) this is a chosen marginality as opposed to imposed; women choose it as a way of "bargaining with patriarchy" (Kandiyoti 1988), as resistance, as disruption and in order to threaten the hegemonic masculine culture and produce "a counter-hegemonic discourse that is not found in words but in habits of being and the way one lives. As such" it was not "a marginality one wishes to lose- to give up or surrender as part of moving into the centre- but rather of a site one stays in, clings to even, because it nourishes one's capacity to resist" (hooks 1990: 149-50).

[225] A killjoy for Ahmed (2010; 2012) is likened to a "willful subject" one characterised by it's 'refusals' and unwillingness which are sometimes seen as acts of disobedience. In her later book entitled the 'Willful Subject', she develops these ideas and describes willful subjects as those who "keep going" or "keep coming up", who are seen as problematic and incessant (Ahmed 2014:2).

hooks (1990: 150) argues that this marginality "offers to one the possibility of radical perspective from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds". This was the marginality chosen by some of the women (such as *money makers*) in mining. It was liberating in the sense that it led to labels which rendered them deviants and as a result they were not constrained or expected to behave in any specific way. They were thus 'free' to exercise their agency, limited as it may have been, and enact gender in ways that benefitted them. It was therefore a strategic performance of marginality, deployed "as a resource" and for their benefit (Idahosa & Vincent 2014: 62). This was also made possible by the fact that these were young women who chose to speak mainly English and only used some words of Fanakalo to assert themselves.

7.6 Real mafazi

The third femininity is called r*eal mafazi*. Unlike the two femininities above, who either used their gender role as mothers and wives or their sexual appeal to lure men to work for them, *real mafazi* worked for themselves. They were able to do mine work convincingly, but they did not do it 'like men' or *madoda straight* women (see below). As a result, they were known as hard workers and as strong women. While they worked hard and accomplished their tasks to the satisfaction of their team members, *real mafazi* did not talk about or do their work with the same passion as *madoda straight* women. They also did not seem to have as close an identification with their work as *madoda straight*. Unlike *mafazi*, who focused on being 'good women', or the *money makers* who identified only as workers who help men, particularly on surface, *real mafazi* tried to balance the two in the context of underground work. They tried to balance being mineworkers and being women, adopting dual identities (Watts 2009).

Similarly to Maria's argument above about the femininity she enacted as a product of her work, its relations and demands, *real mafazi* were also products of work, they did not come to mining ready-made. The performances of gender demonstrated by *real mafazi* seemed to be products of the shop floor, necessitated and thus 'activated' by experiences, expectations and relations at work (Salzinger 2003).

7.6.1 Becoming a *real mafazi*: "No more being a water girl"

In the account below I show how Tee transformed her identity from being a *mafazi* to eventually being recognised as a *real mafazi*. Others in her crew interpreted some of the performances she exhibited as that of a *money maker* and later *real mafazi*. The following was captured in my journal on 6 August, 2012:

> *Tee is a winch operator according to the records on surface. She trained for close to three months and started working with this crew a few months ago. She joined the crew together with Thato, a male winch operator, who was also at the training centre with her...when she started she was told that she will 'shadow' the safety representative, Moso, who will teach her work. Thato, however, was given a winch straight away and instructed to do 'his job and work with them'... the Moso hardly taught Tee anything…she says 'he mainly showed me how to do the winch check list not to operate the winch... or sew the rope…. I just used to get water for them... I was a water girl' for those working in the stope and near the stope, including Thato who started with her... 'They did all the work'. A few months later, she says she decided 'no more being a water girl'... she says she 'wanted to do better and earn my money the hard way and not have them work for me'... they were all happy with the informal arrangement and were "very unhappy when I started demanding to do my work… they didn't trust me to operate the winch and were happy with me bringing them water and doing the winch check lists"… when the safety rep left*

the gang to attend a training workshop for two weeks, Tee says she started insisting on being allocated more tasks by Thobela, our miner…

This demand to do her own work was not welcomed by most of her male colleagues, initially they resisted her efforts, "the winch is difficult... a woman cannot do it". They told her that they wanted to protect her from doing 'difficult' mine work in the hot stope. Tee said she kept insisting and sometimes refused to go get them water until getting another task. "They stopped helping me", but then she found herself getting more tasks than she could handle. She, "was still expected to get water for the team and bring it to the stope before they started drilling". This resulted in hostility between Tee and some RDOs who thought that, as a woman in the team, it was her responsibility to get everyone water. She said the RDOs started saying: "now you are getting used to the mines." Others told her: "... you are becoming lazy" and even her friends within the team advised her to stop being difficult: "... we are helping you but you are not appreciative". Incidents similar to these marked Tee's transition from being perceived as a *mafazi* to being perceived as a *money maker* by men in her gang. She, on the other hand, insisted that she, "just want to do my real work", that is, to be a *real mafazi*.

When she insisted on doing 'real' work, Tee says she found herself doing more than that. From journal entries and direct quotes from Tee: "I brought them water... on my way out ... *madala* would call me and say, '*wena funa lo job, ena lo job*[226]' (so you want to work, here is work), and he would tell me to pump roof-bolts and say 'you want to do mine work, so pump the roof bolts'. While doing that another co-worker would call Tee and say:

[226] Tee did not speak Fanakalo except when she was imitating her male colleagues; even then her Fanakalo was a mixture of Zulu, Setswana, English and Fanakalo. I will elaborate more on language used by *real mafazi* below.

"after I finish the roof bolts I have to go pick up the explosives from the drums or from the stores…when I bring the explosives the water would be soooo high and like Golede maybe or Thabo, someone would tell me to start pumping out the water…yhoo these men! Do this, do that, remove S hooks and temporary jacks from the stope".

According to Tee these instructions from her male co-workers would go on until late in the day and by that time most of them would almost be finished with their work, and Tee would be nowhere near finishing. She continued:

"They were all saying it's my work, it's my work, it's mine work and I want to do mine work so I must do it... by the time I finish with all of them, my work would still be waiting for me...not have moved... then they say I'm slow... I'm not serious about my work, or I'm lazy...it didn't matter that I was busy with work they were giving me the whole day... getting instructions from all of them...working for them... mnxim[227] these people, you don't know them... but now they respect me, they know they cannot do that. If I do something they tell me to do, they know it's a favour, unless it's an instruction from the miner... but if Golede (a co-worker) tells me to do something, he does not just tell me, he asks me, he does not just instruct me like before".

[227] It is verbal gesture used to signal annoyance.

After she realized what was happening, Tee said she, "decided not to take instructions from anyone except the miner". Their behaviour towards her and expectations of her changed after she insisted on doing her work. This was a classic case of production of identity on the 'shop floor'.

This narrative from Tee captures the transitions she went through; from a *mafazi* who was fetching water for the team while the men in her gang were working for her, then as a *money maker* being tossed back and forth, not assisted and labelled lazy and eventually when she transitioned to *real mafazi* and was treated with respect as a mineworker.

What characterizes the last phase as a *real mafazi* is that Tee was respected as a worker. Moso, the safety representative who was her mentor at the beginning, had a hard time accepting the changes. He remarked that: "she is a different woman now". In my conversation with Moso as captured in my journal:

> *... He kept saying Tee has changed now, 'she's a different woman now'. he says it irritated him at first, he used to get really angry that Tee no longer listened to him and no longer followed his instructions..." he said she was becoming 'lazy'... 'getting too used' to them and being 'disrespectful' towards the men (ena qena...enaz jwayela thina, ena ayikhona hlonipha lomadoda)...*
>
> *Mosso is now used to the 'new' Tee, as he liked to call her, and he now says that she has changed with amazement (yhooo, wena changile straight nowu) and he even laughs when Tee refused to take instructions from him and when she insists that she has to finish her job first…he said before the "new Tee", he could tell Tee to go and do stuff for him "bring my first aid bag from the*

station"... "drop off my first aid bank at the lamp house"... "bring me the tools to sew the winch rope for you"...but now he says it is difficult to get her to do anything… to this Tee responded by saying, "I have my own job to do now ...I know what it is, unlike before when I didn't know...and you sent me up and down"

When Moso came back from the training centre, Tee was no longer acting as *mafazi*; fetching water, respecting their spaces and taking instructions, an identity enforced on her, but had exercised her agency and defied them. The reason Moso was irritated initially was because he perceived and interpreted Tee's actions as that of a *money maker*; a disrespectful woman who did not know anything about mining or about her place underground. According to Tee, this was a wrong assessment; when she abandoned her job as a water girl, she wanted to work for herself, do her job, and operate her own winch. In other words, she wanted to be a *real mafazi, umsebenzi* (worker). After seeing Tee do her job diligently, Moso's views changed. He noticed that Tee wanted to do 'real work' (*lo ku joba mampela*) and was merely resisting being reduced to a water girl while others do the real job.

7.6.2 Work locations and allocations: "the winch is reserved for *lo madoda"*

The resistance was not won in one day; it took time and occurred in stages. While Tee was now working as a winch operator, her male co-workers still controlled which winch she could operate. For instance, according to the work register where job allocations and work-stations are listed, Tee was supposed to operate the winch closest to the stope. The team, however, reallocated her a different winch without consulting her. From my journal:

> *Tee was removed from the winch close to the stope without her knowledge or consent…they discussed it behind her back…she demanded to know who made the decision and why she was not consulted. They said since she is a woman the stope winch is going to be too hard for her, too hot and virtually impossible for her "to manage the heat and other menial tasks done by a person operating that winch" said the miner.*

From a conversation with our miner about Tee's reallocation he said that Tee can continue doing the check-list for that winch, as she does for all others, but it cannot be, "...'her winch', the winch is reserved for *lo madoda... ena funa lo steam lo winch* (for men... it requires a lot of strength)...operated by those who can tolerate the heat". They thus refused to give Tee the '*madoda'* winch. Instead, they gave her a winch in the centre gully, far away from the stope.

In addition to that, they also wanted to watch over her when she operated the winch. The shiftboss insisted that a man be present and watch over us when we operated it. I noted:

> *...he told the other winch drivers to go pull out the ore, but he asked Tee more than once if we were sure we could do the job... He only allowed us to operate it after confirmations from other winch operators... even then he insisted that one of them watch over us...*

He only asked Tee and I, the only women in the team, if we were sure we could operate the winch, a machine usually operated by men. His questions suggested that we needed to be 'allowed' to use the winch, despite the fact that we were both legally appointed to operate it.

She was not yet a *real mafazi* and as such she was still given instructions on how to operate the winch. They did not trust her with it:

> *…we were told how many times we should scrape the ore... the shift boss told us that before we operate the winch we should both go and check that the area is clear, all the way to the return rig, he said… she knows all those things, that's what all winch operators do before they operate a winch…but we still got detailed instructions and on top of that we had to have Thato watch over us.*

The way in which we were treated gave a signal that we were not completely trusted, at least not on our own. We had to endure the "burden of doubt" (Puwar 2004). Puwar (2001:11, 59) argues that when people are new in a space, such as women underground, they face the "burden of doubt, a burden of representation, infantilization and super-surveillance". Tee and I therefore existed "under the optic lens of suspicion and surveillance" because we were seen as "lacking the desired competencies" (Puwar 2004: 59). Our bodies and skills, our capabilities underground, were viewed suspiciously (Puwar 2004) and were more closely monitored than was the case with the two femininities above. There was what Puwar calls a "niggling suspicion"; we were not seen as "proper" and as a result we had to demonstrate that we were skilled (Puwar 2004: 59). *Real mafazi* constantly had to deal with this "niggling suspicion". Tee, for instance, had to win the men's trust by consistently doing her job to *their* satisfaction. They doubted her skills because skills, especially mining skills, have "widely been constructed as masculine" (Kenny (2007: 494).

A few times when I worked with Tee after unsuccessfully trying to break a huge boulder, she would eventually suggest that we call other colleagues to assist us. Also, she didn't dare touch

the thick 19mm (large) winch rope, only the 12mm (small) and 16mm (medium) ones because, "we are women"...we won't be able to do this one...do you want me to have another miscarriage... Let's just call one of them to do this (break a huge rock). ... We cannot do this rope, it's too thick". Unlike the *mafazi* and *money makers,* who either ran away from such work or refused it, Tee did most of it and only called men to assist and do some parts for her. An example from my time with her:

> …the winch rope (a 19mm wire) broke while we were working today… she said we must call a man to help us put it together… She didn't think we could do it…she kept saying we needed a man to help us... and she repeated it several times... one of the guys from our gang came to help us sew it together while Tee and I held it down.

Initially I was surprised and confused that she thought we could no longer sew the rope because we had done it several times. She had been sewing it while I did the easy part of holding it down for her. Later when we were resting she explained: "that one is for *madoda* (men), it's the thickest of them all, not like the other pikinini ropes we've sewn together before". I had not picked up the difference between the ropes and the fact that she could tell them apart was very significant because they didn't look that different from each other by just glancing at them. One had to know them well to tell them apart. This was not the case with *mafazi* or *money makers* who hardly even touched the ropes and could not tell them apart, let alone sew any of them together.

7.6.3 They work like men, but they do not *planisa* like men

As I will demonstrate in the following section on *madoda straight* women, the ability to sew all ropes was a major distinguishing factor between *madoda straight* winch operators and *real mafazi* winch operators. As with Tee above, *real mafazi* struggled with some tasks that were seen as masculine. They could do the difficult tasks; they had the job skill, but not the mining skill, not the mastery or the distinguishing techniques deployed with *planisa*. As a result, male co-workers often did the jobs which required or involved *planisa* for *real mafazi*. They also made sure to remind the *real mafazi* that they were still women and not real mineworkers, but *real mafazi* were characterized by their ability to do 'men's work', to do hard work, but lacked the nuanced techniques mainly known by men or those considered man enough.

Real mafazi were therefore characterised by the knowledge of *their* work, but not *general* mine work and they worked hard, but not as men. *Real mafazi* did mine work, but they did not do mine work *like* men. Tee often said: "I give what I get paid for, not more, not less... I leave when it's *shayile* (knock-off) time... I only think about this place when I clock in again the following day". Such was the extent of *real mafazi* commitment. Tshire also made similar remarks when we talked about over-time. She argued that she was happy with "just the basic salary" and "won't work extra hours because you never even see the money. They tax most of it, so there is no point". They only worked regular shifts, not extra or bonus shifts like *madoda straight*, as I will demonstrate below.

While they excelled at their work, they seemed to lack the mastery of the techniques associated with 'making a plan', and thus were not elevated to a *madoda straight* status, simply *real bafazi* (real women). While they worked 'like' men they did not *planisa* like men, they did not 'think'

or reason like men underground, hence they could not *planisa*. These women were integrated into teams and were accepted as strong women, not as mineworkers, or even 'one with the team', but were respected as strong women workers because they could do physically exerting work and sometime this was done under dangerous conditions (Bozzoli 1983; Mahlaba 1993; Macintyre 2006; McCulloch 2010). For instance, instead of carrying two 1.5m support poles Tee carried one at a time, moved faster than men who were carrying two and did as many rounds as them. While she could winch for five hours, she needed to take breaks in-between (*khokha moya*), unlike Matikiti (a *madoda straight*) who only took breaks to drink water and give instructions. One of the most common tasks underground involved barring rocks and cleaning the face. The way Tee did these was again different from the way her co-workers did them, even though she did them successfully. For instance, when lashing ore and cleaning the face we usually knelt (and they sat with their legs up and apart)[228] and dragged the ore towards us. Kneeling on top of uneven and sometimes piercing rocks was not the most comfortable position and it did not help us exert the greatest force with the spades we were using to drag the ore, but neither did sitting with our legs up and apart. Tee admitted that it was uncomfortable and "strange" to sit with her legs up and apart and pull ore towards her, so she chose to kneel. Our male co-workers criticized this way of working, saying that when we were kneeling we were not properly balanced and would take longer and wouldn't be able to drag big rocks with the spade. They were right, we usually lifted big rocks. It was impossible to yank them near. As a result of this small, but significant positioning of our bodies in relation to the face, we could not properly and thoroughly scrape the rock face. While they praised Tee for working hard, they often made remarks about her working like a woman: "*yena joba mara*

[228] The way we all sat had gendered undertones and Young (1980) in "Throwing like a girl" deals with the meanings of how women and men use their bodies in spaces.

ena joba loku fanana nalo mafazi, hayi londlela kalo madoda wenaz bona straight lo skati ena joba" (she works hard but she works like a woman, not like a man, you can see it clearly, that this one is a woman). They also made comments about her being "afraid" of the equipment or material, meaning she did not throw the same punches, or exert the same force, as them: "*wena saba lo support stick, ena ayikhona luma*" (You are afraid of the support stick, they won't bite you). They were implying that she needed to exert force and imitate them. While they admitted that she works hard and completes most tasks, she still did not position her body or employ the same techniques as them. They made similar comments when they found her struggling to break big boulders, she worked hard, but not like them. To work like them meant to use *planisa*, to strategize and apply tacit mining skills as they do.

7.6.4 *Real mafazi* work for teams, but not with teams

R*eal* m*afazi* were mainly seen as working *for* their teams not *with* their teams. For example, when workers allocated each other work, Tee, a *real mafazi* was usually given work to aid the team meet production targets. It was hardly work that was inside the stope[229] or work that required her to be physically with the team. For instance, the winch she operated was towards the exit and far from the stope and the team. It was still an important winch because it pulled ore that came from other winches to the tip. Similarly, when big boulders blocked the tip they eventually, though not immediately, affected everyone's productivity since they blocked the mouth of the tip which swallows up ore and transports it above ground. While far from the stope, she was still very important to the production chain.

[229] Our work inside the stope was brief: to clear the rocks I referred to above and clean the face. The rest of the day we were positioned outside the stope.

It was the same when I was with Tshire, most of her tasks were far from the stope and the crew. She worked for them in that after marking the face *for* the crew she would be told to go to the stores to get explosives *for* them; to bring support stick *for* the crew to install. She did mine work but it was mine work which mainly serviced the crew, hardly work that was *with* the crew. While working with one team I wrote in my journal: "…I'm in the stope but I feel like their assistant sometimes…I carry the tools when we go to sew the rope, I pass them what they want; a spanner, a hammer, a spike, an eye bolt..."

Since *real mafazi* worked for their teams their responsibilities reflect their non-core (but essential) position. While *real mafazi* worked directly with men, the way in which responsibilities were spread was gendered and reinforced their position as women workers, not necessarily mineworkers. For instance, when installing support using mat packs and fish plates, Tee and I were usually sent to fetch the material from the station and put it closer to where the team was working and pass them during installation. Men on the other hand did the actual installation, which involved identifying the best spot to affix the sticks so that they offered maximum support to the rocks. They measured the distance between the hanging wall and the floor and the distance between the stick positions and marked the sticks accordingly. While they did that, the *real mafazi* only had to cut the sticks, as per instructions from the men who measured it. *Real mafazi*, while they did mine work, their responsibilities reflected their difference. They did mine work, but they did specific parts of mine work which re-affirmed that they were women who were working in the mines. They mainly worked for their teams not necessarily with them.

7.6.5 Unionisation: "we are like an abused woman who keeps going back to her abusive husband"

What also characterized *real bafazi* from the other two categories I have alluded to above was unionisation. While *mafazi* were indifferent to unionisation, although they joined the unions that most men did, and most *money makers* opted for the formerly white union, UASA, the majority of *real mafazi* were active members of AMCU, and some were leaders in the union. They heavily criticized the NUM.

During the time of the research (and after the 2012 strikes that engulfed the platinum belt),[230] most workers, including *real mafazi*, were moving their membership from the NUM to AMCU (and some women were moving to UASA). Tshire, who was still with the NUM, likened women's condition in the union to that of an,

> "...abused woman who keeps going back to her abusive husband... they (unionists) don't care... but we have to join, what can we do, we don't have a choice... we know that they will do the same thing... they are still new now they are going to change and be like the NUM ... it's the same people these people... they are AMCU but it's the same leaders... do you think they are going to change things for good here in the mine?"[231]

[230] For more on the strike actions in the platinum belt in 2012 see Alexander et al (2012), Chinguno (2013a & b), Alexander (2013), Ntswana 2014, Chinguno (PhD dissertation 2015), and Sinwell (2015).
[231] For more on unions, their relationship with women and treatment of gender issues see Franzway (2001).

While pessimistic, they continued to join the new union. Like Tshire most had resigned themselves to not being serviced by any union. This position is best captured by Spivak's (1993: 60) "impossible no", which is when one is unable to reject a structure they intimately inhabit even though they may continue to critique it. In Tshire's case, she found it difficult to be a worker without belonging to a union even though she was critical of the union and its neglect of women's issues. She was in the "impossible no" position.

A few *real mafazi* pointed to the gains of the new union AMCU and had even taken up leadership positions. Vicky made it clear that she was not optimistic that unions can change themselves and her solution was that women, "... we have to join them and ... change them... you think they will change if we don't attend? No, I can tell you now, they won't, they will be like that forever and we will stay here complaining forever... so it is better if we go and join AMCU and change it and fight to change it for ourselves as women".

While Tshire was critical, Vicky saw an opportunity with the new union. Both of them still saw the need to belong to a union, "even if they do not do anything for you, it's still important... maybe they do something for someone else, so it's important like that". Tshire said this to justify why she was going to deregister from the NUM and move to AMCU instead of not having a union at all. Despite being a member, Tshire did not attend any union meetings and strikes. Tee went to some meetings depending on the agenda advertised around the shaft while Vicky actively sought other women and encouraged them to attend and change the union for their own good.

Tshire, like Maria, blamed the union's focus on national politics for the neglect of worker issues, especially women. The majority of those I spoke to, whether they attended union

meetings or not, had trepidations about going on strikes. The violent nature of the strikes was often cited as a reason for non-attendance and some women during focus group discussions also cited intimidation at meetings and strikes.[232] Even though *real mafazi* identified as mineworkers and were identified as such by their teams, it seemed that this identification expired at meetings and strike actions. At these spaces they were seen as the 'other'. Ntate Ras for example, captured how they identify the 'other' and said: "when we want our money we want it, and nothing will stand in the way". He went on to say: "when we are on strike, we do not have friends; our friends are those participating... those who are on our side, not against us... I can kill anyone who is a *gundwane*[233]... yes the women I work with too... Yes (including) Tshire". Women were known for not supporting violence during strikes and because of that, some men expressed distrust towards women who want the money but are "not willing to fight for it".

Before Ntate Ras had said the above Tshire had already pointed that: "these people can kill you when they want their money". She explained that as a learner miner, the second highest occupation underground, she did not identify with the general workers' demands for more money since she was already earning more than what they were demanding.[234] Unlike previous strikes were workers demanded a percentage resulting in an increase for most, the 2012 strikes were framed differently by workers. They demanded specific figures not percentages. At Impala workers demanded R9000, at Lonmin they demanded R12 500 and at Anglo-Platinum

[232] Von Holdt 2010; Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout 2008; Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu 2010; Alexander et al 2012; Chinguno 2012; 2013; 2015.
[233] A rat... in this case a scab labourer.
[234] Learner miners, since they were being trained to be miners, were paid a lot more than other workers underground. Their wages were closer to those of appointed miners than general workers. See Figure **Error! Main Document Only.** above for more on the underground occupational hierarchy and the position of learner miners in relation to other workers.

they demanded R16000 after deductions.[235] All of these amounts that workers were demanding were below what Tshire, a learner miner, was already getting so she did not see the need to even support the strikers.

Tshire also touched on the level of relations with men in mining, including her gang, and women's fragile status in mining as contributing to their avoidance of strikes. I thought she was close with her gang and would thus never be exposed to the same vulnerabilities as other women. Tshire corrected my assumptions and asserted that: "*thina thetha* because *thina funa ku pusha lo job kalo mine*" (we talk because we want to push work and meet production targets), implying that it had nothing to do with trust or close relations.

Tee seemed to think similarly to Tshire. When I suggested that we join the strikes (since we had attended a meeting), facial expression was telling. As if experiencing discomfort, she sneered while looking at me, and after a while asked: "join who?!... *Wena right lapha kalo skopo ka wena*?" (Is your head functioning properly?). This was a question Tshire had also asked me when I made the same suggestion to her. It was as if I had insulted both of them by suggesting that we join the strikes. Tshire made it very clear to me that she does not join strike actions and never will. She, and this was alluded to in a later focus group, expressed that if the union is, "not willing to protect women against men underground where there are rules, how

[235] (http://www.citypress.co.za/business/anglo-platinum-workers-demand-r16-000-20120913/ , http://www.citypress.co.za/business/mine-strike-spreads-to-chrome-sector-20120917/ , http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/2014-south-african-platinum-strike-longest-wage-strike-south-africa , http://mg.co.za/article/2012-11-02-00-platinum-miners-want-anglo-american-to-dig-deeper , http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-14-strike-fever-hits-anglo-platinums-bleskop-mine/#.VSiFBdyUdIE , http://www.thenewage.co.za/44020-1007-53-Implats_strikers_demand_R9000_or_nothing , http://mg.co.za/article/2012-02-22-implats-mines-quiet-after-fire-at-boardroom

much more in their meetings where 'they' are the rules and they are in charge". Tshire went on to ask:

> "Why should you expose yourself to that (violence during strike actions) if you are not even safe here at work? First of all these strikes are illegal, Asanda, how can you expect anything legal to happen there? Who will protect you if they do something to you...? There are no laws or sexual harassment policies in a strike or in their meetings, so they can do as they please to you and you won't have anyone to defend you or take you seriously. So why go?"

While Tshire was not talking about rituals associated with strikes (Weinstein 2006), she was talking about fears she harboured which resulted from what she saw as the 'moral order' of strikes and meetings. In these meetings she also remarked that if one asks questions that are not 'right' they can be heckled and harassed. Vicky also agreed with this view, but insisted that women have to attend to at least hear what it happening and so that they are in good standing with the union in case they encounter other problems in their work.

7.6.6 Language: "if you're a real mineworker, you must learn Fanakalo"

While the majority of *mafazi* and *money makers* did not speak *Fanakalo*, some *real mafazi* spoke *Fanakalo* and others refused to speak it. For the historical reasons already stated above, most women who grew up in townships and whose parents worked as domestic workers, including *real mafazi*, refused to speak *Fanakalo*.

Tee who was considered a *real mafazi* refused to speak *Fanakalo*.

> …The men in Tee's group get upset with her sometimes for not speaking Fanakalo…mind you this is a group of men who are mainly Tswana and Sotho speakers and Tee is a Setswana speaker...they ALL understand her when she speaks her home languages…Golede says she cannot be a real mineworker until she learns Fanakalo...

While Tee was seen as a *real mfazi* her lack of interest in Fanakalo contributed to her status of *real mfazi*, not *madoda straight*. I noted:

> *When there are problems in the stope, Tee sometimes does not even know about them, not because she is in the last winch, but because she does not always follow the Fanakalo conversations, but all the guys know everything, all the time… the miner was apparently charged by the mine overseer because there are problems with the roof bolts, Tee had no idea about that, yet all the guys knew…conversations are in Fanakalo and only those who speak Fanakalo are included… she ignores them when they speak Fanakalo. She switches off and only pays attention when they call her name… she hardly asks, even after the conversations, what it was about…*

This shows that competency in Fanakalo and willingly speaking Fanakalo, were vital for one's inclusion, it was "a key tacit requirement" (Puwar 2004). It gave the speaker "honorary citizenship" (Puwar 2004: 108). Since it was so vital, gang members interpreted Tee's refusal to speak it as refusal to be a 'real mineworker'; to be completely assimilated. Workers often said: "if you're a real mineworker, you must learn Fanakalo" or: "you are not a real mineworker if you do not speak Fanakalo". They saw Tee's refusal as insistence on individuality, on femininity, which is in contradiction with their conceptions of a mineworker (masculine) identity, where everything is about the group and the individual is subsumed under the group.

For Tee, however, this refusal was consciously justified as refusing what is associated with Fanakalo by her community: the history of the language, the class and status ascribed to those who speak it, mainly migrants or *mathosa*.[236] Her refusal, in addition to her lack of capability to do some parts of her work, contributed to her status as a *real mafazi*, not a *madoda straight*.

While she refused to speak it, Tee used the boisterous words associated with Fanakalo. However, several times she was reprimanded by our miner for using the vocabulary intrinsic to the power of Fanakalo. Other workers, however, were usually, though not always, indifferent to her using the vocabulary. On 16 August 2012, I wrote:

> *1…miner reprimanded Tee for using foul language... she was chatting to Golede and kept saying "sh*t, f*ck"… she protested at first saying "but Golede is using it" … the miner responded "you are not a man, don't act like one, don't use that language"... she mumbled after seeing that the miner was not going to budge...and he went on about how inappropriate it is for a woman to use the words Tee was using...*

While in studies looking at women in masculine occupations women are usually discouraged from displaying femininity (Sasson-Levy 2003: 375), here the miner was discouraging Tee from displaying what he considered masculine. Tee had to conform to femininity with her vocabulary and to masculinity in her work. This again marks the way mine language is gendered; a woman who was vociferously encouraged to learn Fanakalo was blatantly denied using a vocabulary so integral to the power of Fanakalo because it was "inappropriate" for a

[236] A derogatory term for amaXhosa

woman. The only women who could speak Fanakalo without restrictions, were the *madoda straight*, the women seen as men. I discuss them next.

7.6.7 *Real Mafazi* Summary

Unlike the two categories above where women hardly participated in mine work, r*eal mafazi* participated in mine work. However, they did not do mine work *like* men, their practices at work were associated with femininity, not masculinity. The *real mafazi* had to, "present a finely balanced fusion of femininity" (Puwar 2004: 147) and worker identity. They were thus seen as women who work hard. Some of them knew how to *planisa*, but the majority could not carry it out like men. They had not mastered the techniques the same way 'real mineworkers' had, even though some of them knew the 'folk theory'[237] behind the techniques. They identified themselves as insiders, but as female insiders, thus they rejected masculine normativity ascribed to mine work and mining spaces.

Real mafazi resisted masculine hegemony (Garcia-Lopez & Segura 2008: 256). They challenged masculine orders and norms of mine work, albeit in a limited way, since they had no mastery of the techniques one requires to navigate work underground. Thus, they did not disrupt the gender binary; they still acted as women. They did not deny femininity, but reconciled and made it intersect with their work (Garcia-Lopez & Segura 2008).

Since r*eal mafazi* did not did mine work by mimicking men or following the masculine script but as women and followed their own rules, I argue that their practices of gender were more

[237] See Burawoy (1998)

transformative than the previous two femininities. Their subversive practices meant that they had the difficult task of having to convince their male co-workers of their competency, what Puwar (2004) calls the "burden of doubt". As a result they were under constant surveillance (see also Salzinger 2003). This, I argue, was an act of agency by real women; by choosing to do mine work as women or females they were taking a position against the prevalent ideology that to do mine work is to do masculinity. Again, to borrow from hooks (1990), *real mafazi* were choosing to refuse. *Real mafazi* were saying: "we refuse to be what you want us to be, we are what we are, and that's the way it's going to be", they were thus choosing, "that space of refusal, where one can say no…is located in the margins" (hooks 1990: 150). They were refusing to assimilate, to be mimic-women, but were choosing instead to carve a space for themselves on the margins where they could be who they wanted to be, where they could live or work in alternative ways and refuse domination and co-optation into sustaining masculinity as the norm or equate it to competence when it comes to mine work. To see the *real mafazi* as resisting is to recognise their place, their agency in constructing their own subjectivities and not just as objects or even consenting subjects, but as active agents.

7.7 Madoda Straight: female manhood in mining

Madoda is a Fanakalo word derived from Nguni languages. It refers to a man- *indoda* (singular) or *amadoda* (plural). *Madoda straight* in mining is used to refer to both men and women who work hard and who have also mastered the skill, the nuanced informal techniques that are employed during the labour process, workers call *planisa* (Phakathi 2009, 2011, 2013). *Madoda straight*[238] implies that these women work like men and therefore, are no longer seen

[238] Straight is used to add emphasis, to legitimize you and your actions as quintessentially mining.

as women. At least while working underground, they are seen as honorary men (McDowell & Court 1994: 741; McDowell 1999; Jorgenson 2002), as having manhood and embodying mining masculinity. It does not necessarily mean that they completely enacted masculinity, rather that they combined feminine and masculine performances of gender (Sasson-Levy 2003), but privileged masculine performances.

Honorary men, according to McDowell (1999) and Acker (1990: 139), are "biological females who act as social men", or one-of-the-boys (Kvande 1999). They are women who disguise or downplay their femininity, choosing instead to adopt masculine standards of style and behaviour at work, what Kvande (1999) calls the "sameness strategy". While the actions of *madoda straight* women are similar to those enacted by men, they do "not turn into men, but are always only "like men, similar, but different" (Sasson-Levy 2003: 451). Sasson-Levy (2003) likens this identity to that of a postcolonial subject who is neither similar to the colonialist nor to the pre-colonialist subject, but is instead a hybrid.[239] *Madoda straight* are hybrids, they are women who enact masculinity.

While conducting research a number of the women I worked with were called *madoda straight*. These were usually women who worked hard, were close to their gangs and tended to work inside the stope or close to production as miners or winch operators, occupations that continue to be seen as masculine. Like men, and unlike other women, they seemed to identify closely with their work. They were women who had the practical knowledge, the feel for the game (Bourdieu 2000, 1994). Their habitus was well synchronised with the underground field, they understood, and to some extent embodied, the "rules, traditions, values, moves and possibilities

[239] For more on hybridity see also Robert J.C. Young (2003)

that define the game and their relation to the moment" (Schirato & Webb 2003: 542; Ngai 2005).

Describing a *madoda straight*, Maria, during the focus group discussion said: "... she can operate a winch through-out the night, sew the (winch) rope if it breaks... and lash for hours on end". Central to Maria's definition of a *madoda straight* woman was her ability to effectively use underground machines (Connell 2005). What also distinguished a *madoda straight* woman from other women is that she worked *with* the team instead of working for the team; assisting or working as a 'helper', as seemed to be the case with other women.

One woman in a discussion said: "If you can help them pull a cable, you are a *madoda straight*, *uthayitile*" (you are strong). Shado's description shed light on what working like a man meant. She said: "you're a madoda straight *lo skati wena jobisa lo skop kudlula lo steam*" (you're a madoda straight when you learn to use your brain/head more than your strength). This was not to say mine work is mental and not physical work,[240] but rather they were emphasising the importance of mental strength to complement the physical strength. This was also linked to techniques. Knowing the techniques, using both mental and physical strength, contributed to *madoda straight* identity.

M*adoda straight* women, especially women miners and team leaders, were known by teams to speak their mind to supervisors instead of simply following instructions. Katlego and Shado, for instance, were known for questioning, voicing opinions and even disagreeing to the point

[240] A lot of studies point to the normative but problematic constructions of femininity which present femininity as irreconcilable with physical work and thus women as unable to do physically demanding work. At the same time these normative constructions paint masculinity as assertive and highly capable of doing physical work (Van Zuydam 2012).

of overruling decisions taken by supervisors, including "*lo malungu"* (white managers). Malome from Katlego's gang identified the difference between male miners and Katlego:

> "They have not gone to school, they are afraid of losing their jobs, so they don't speak up... Katlego has gone to school, that's the difference…she knows her rights as a worker… she can speak her mind and she knows that he cannot fire her for no reason… but you see the men don't know that, they know white men have power but they (older male miners) don't know that they also have power to stop white men's power… sometimes they are afraid of white managers, like our chibass (shiftboss). He is afraid of them and he comes here to tell us to do something, something he also knows is dangerous…not right, but white managers tell him to push production and he's afraid to say no, so he says yes …Katlego tells the bosses… She tells them that this gang is her responsibility and she won't don't anything she does not want to do if it's bad for the gang…"

She was known for standing up to her superiors. Shado was also moved to night shift for similar reasons, for not following orders from surface and refusing to "let their (surface management's) word be final". At times she,

> "refused to send my guys in a dangerous stope… if it was too dangerous…I refused and he (shiftboss) hated that, he felt like I was sabotaging him… who was I, coming here telling him I won't blast when he has been in mining for so long, long before I was even born… he brought me here to punish me…He knows night shift is frustrating when you are competitive like me…there is no blasting in night shift, you only push stof (ore)".

Refusing to follow orders from the surface was an unwritten and severely punished offense in mining.[241]

Women miners were known for being vocal and this endeared them to their gangs. Malome, speaking about Katlego, said: "she pushes us and we get angry at times… but we know she also looks out for us, that's why she does not get on well with chibass, she tells him no and he hates that, he feels undermined… but it's good for us if she pushes us for production and pushes him for safety". This balance was important for *madoda straight* women.

While workers liked miners who stood up to management on their behalf, management saw women as "unruly…not easy to control them". During an informal conversation a supervisor made remarks that: "we (white supervisors and black male workers) were happy here before women joined the mines… they talk too much…they do not listen to (or obey) our instructions…they think they know everything". Women therefore, he concluded, have brought disorder in mining. Another male supervisor said about women miners: "they want to discuss everything instead of following instructions". Male supervisors interpreted this questioning streak of *madoda straight* women as "troublesome" and "argumentative". They were known to contest male authority, particularly when it trampled on their powers as miners who hold the blasting certificates and were the designated authorities underground. While supervisors criticized *madoda straight* women for contesting their authority, male co-workers welcomed it

[241] This is not to say that male miners never or hardly refused to follow orders from surface, they did (see Chinguno 2015), but it seems less frequent than women, considering their numbers.

when directed at supervisors and when it benefitted them, but criticized it when directed at them.

7.7.1 *Madoda straight* Performances: "It's the way you twist your wrist...rhythm"

When talking about themselves, to refer to their *madoda straight* status, women hardly used the term *madoda straight* and instead made references to being men or working hard: "mina madoda" (I'm a man), "*mina joba*" (I work), "*mina yazi lo job*" (I know this job), "*mina yenza yena straight*" *(*I can do this job/I am a master at this job*),* "*mina joba straight*" *(*I really work*).* This was hardly said in local languages or English, always in Fanakalo, drawing attention to and legitimizing their work as quintessentially mine work not general support work that other women engaged in such as fetching water for the crew. Workers seemed to agree that a *madoda straight* woman is able to do not just her work, but different types of mine work, successfully and satisfactorily, the same way a 'real' mineworker would. Most importantly, *madoda straight* women embodied these tacit skills.

To demonstrate what sets apart *madoda straight* women from other women I draw from my experiences with Zodwa, a winch operator, and Miss Bang-bang, a team leader. They both demonstrated the physical strength and most importantly, the technique, the *planisa*; the timing and specific way of thinking about work which informs how the technique is deployed, a significant difference from the *real bafazi* who mainly just worked hard with little knowledge of the technique.

Unlike Tee and I who were constantly monitored, Zodwa did her work alone, she had no observers or instructors. Instead of calling others to assist or do parts of the work for her, like

Tee and I did with rope and huge boulders, she was called to assist others (younger and older men) when their winch ropes broke and needed mending. With the winch rope, for instance, Mpororo called others to hold down the rope for her while she sewed it together. In conversations with Mpororo she revealed the technique, how she sews the rope, "fast... without using too much *steam* (energy)" and most importantly her resolve to have it done because, "it is my job not theirs (men)". Similarly, when I worked with Zodwa, Maria and over thirteen men, Maria and I were often given tedious duties, some of which Maria refused, far from the gang while Zodwa always worked with the main gang in the stope or alone operating her winch. From my journal:

> Maria and I were just painting the direction lines and the winch… and we swept around the winch…far from everyone…Mpororo worked with them (men) the whole day… when we went to check on them after relaxing we found Zodwa sewing the rope while that other operator held it down…
>
> After work on our way home I asked Zodwa how she sews the rope since Maria and I struggled with it... she said: "...yes strength is important... it's not easy even for me, it's difficult...but it's not about the strength with this rope, especially the makhulu (big 19mm) one...you see, you must know how to hold the rope first...it's different... your fingers...the way you twist your wrist...you cannot stand like this (legs together) with that one (big rope) your feet must be like this (a distance apart), not too much... like this much distance (demonstrating) not more... then you do this (she demonstrated how you slowly twist your wrist first, then slowly the arms and shoulders)... but not too much because you don't want to break them (shoulders) right (laughing)... you just need to get the strength... then you twist it, and twist it... and breather, it's important, it gives you steam...try not to stop in the middle of the twists or lose

> momentum, it's important...once you lose the rhythm the rope can snap and can injure your fingers or even hurt the person holding it down for you..."

Sewing the winch rope encompassed all these controlled movements of the whole body, not just the hands and arms, but doing all those things together, systematically and rhythmically (Young 1980; 1990). The sewing technique was less important compared to the bodily technique (Young 1980) or "bodily consensus" (Lande 2007). It was the end result of how she harnessed her whole body, including her breathing[242], summoned her skill and demonstrated her mastery of the technique and timing at which it was deployed. Additionally, it was her ability to *planisa* in the absence of material or equipment to sew the rope, a *planisa* similar to the one often adopted by *madoda straight* men.

Similarly, Miss Bang-Bang, a *madoda straight* team leader, demonstrated her skill and the importance of technique. From my journal in July with a night shift gang:

> … I assisted her with barring lose rocks… while I was pounding hard, she moved slowly …she had a slow but effective pace… when she's barring she looks around, taps a little, listens to the sound made by the rock, if it's the sound of a loose rock she bangs it hard...

When working with Miss Bang-bang I would get tired and go sit under the hanging wall, watch her work, and capture her movements. From my diary entries this is what I wrote over several days of watching her closely:

[242] See Lande 2007 on the embodied techniques used by soldiers in order to breathe in culturally and morally acceptable ways.

> … Her leg movements are very neat…not clumsy at all, it's as if every move is calculated, literally calculated, but this calculation is done very fast. She's very strategic in her movements. All seem deliberate… her legs are never on the same footing, never together, always apart, a specific distance apart, not too far and this distance changes depending on what is under her feet but the change is not too much … she only taps the hanging wall once she is on firm ground… she changes the mqala[243] now and again, lifts it, feels the weight each time before tapping the rocks, then she takes a breathe, it's visible and specific, her chest moves too, sloooowly breathing in, as if breathing in her surroundings… she makes sure she's firm and comfortable, it's as if she wants to physically feel the position of the rocks under her feet, but alas the gumboots...she presses on, further down until she's comfortable … then she looks at the hanging wall, looks down at her feet, looks around, moves her waist area while holding the pinch bar at a certain angle... then she moves her whole upper body, then her arms and she BANGS the wall at just the right place. When she bangs it, it comes down tumbling, big and small rock together and she quickly jumps or moves backwards giving space to the falling rocks... she taps it again until she hears the base sound, then repeats the process above to barr it down. All of this takes a few seconds and that's what she does when barring the wall.

She went on for another hour or more after I went to sit down; slowly, steadily and cautiously barring loose rocks from the hanging wall. The stamina demonstrated and skill used which enabled her to continue for as long as she did, meticulously and competently, were linked to

[243] Pinch bar

her ability to properly control her breathing (Lande 2007), to properly feel the *mqala* and rocks under her feet and to move her body virtuously, ensuring that when she hits, she hits effectively and safely. The *madoda straight* label, therefore, was not only about working non-stop or working hard or even fast, but was about *how* one works. It was about having the "feel for the game" (Bourdieu 1991), the unreflexive practical and bodily knowledge (Schirato & Webb 2003; Lande 2007) as demonstrated by Miss Bang-bang. Consistently, and intuitively, she demonstrated her competencies which were based on masculinity. She was doing more than work, she was "doing gender" (West & Zimmermann 1987). She was doing her work in a gender-specific way; correctly and effectively and employing techniques mainly known and performed by men, all while managing her gender and not acting feminine. Thus, Miss Bang-bang was doing work by 'doing gender' or doing masculinity, reinforcing the links between the two, thereby actively constructing a masculine identity. Her breathing and her actions were deliberate though she was not conscious of each one of them, signalling that she had indeed internalized her performance of gender and work, she embodied them (Pilgeram 2007, Kelan 2009, Butler 1990). What was evident not only from Miss Bang-bang, but from all my observations of both madoda straight men and women, *planisa* was not merely a skill, it was a deeply embodied skill.

7.7.2 Doing work by doing masculinity

For *madoda straight* women doing work was about doing masculinity and this was embedded in the automatic motions she made while working; in the techniques, the ways she moved her legs, how she held the pinch barr and her breaths in-between, sometimes quick and sometimes drawn out. According to Puwar (2004: 126) such practices are indicative of someone who has the 'masculine script' (Kelan 2009: 29) and has thus acquired the necessary habitus which

allows them to regularly exercise their disposition in spontaneous ways. One miner admiringly described her as "*yena thayitile sterek"*[244] (she is very strong and has no match). The skill and intuition demonstrated by Miss Bang-bang was typical of *madoda straight* men and it was more than what *real mafazi* demonstrated. To manage work well, *madoda straight* women had to first manage their femininity, contain and conceal it and become '*madoda'* (men) through their performances of work.

Unlike *real mafazi* who know their work well, *madoda straight* had other skills and can excellently do other jobs beyond their line of duty. To demonstrate Miss Bang-bang's adaptability, daily after barring loose rocks she went to meticulously direct all the winch operators, leaving the whole panel and the face clean and ready for the following day's drilling and blasting. When the winch operators were scraping out ore she came to join me in the madala site and grovel on her knees the whole night, giving them lamp instructions since the signal bell was not working. I noted:

> ...she gives signals to the winch operators- the one in the centre line, another in the gully and another in the face- instructing the three operators with her lamp, stopping each of them at just the right point, telling them to reverse, to come forward, move back, close temporarily… she does it all so seamlessly…does not confuse or misguide... and all of this with her head lamp while sitting under rocks.

[244] To thayita has multiple meanings in Fanakalo, in this context it was a praise to Miss bang-bang, it meant she is extremely strong, she has the proper strength required underground. He also implied that she has no match, on a league of her own.

The different signals also differed depending on the location of the operator being directed. Watching her was like an out of body experience. For over three hours all I saw was her head lamp moving in different directions, at times switching it on and off in a split second, moving it to the left once, then right once, then left again three times or twice depending on the message she wants to send, and then quickly in the opposite direction. All you see is light. This is not just light; every light she shines means something. She demonstrated what Puwar (2004: 144) calls an "exaggerated form of competency". The direction she focuses it on, the duration of each, the frequency all meant something; it was about "rhythm and cadence" (Lande 2007: 100). A moment longer or less had a different meaning and she knew all these meanings and she did not mince them or forget. A single mistake could be fatal either for her or for her team members, it could easily lead to a scraper scooping up a live human (as had almost happened more than once when I was in another gang) or could lead to a stick supporting loose rocks being pushed out of place thus compromising the safety of everyone or, at worst, a fall of ground.

Madoda straight was not a 'natural' disposition women had. Zodwa and Miss Bang-bang learnt the techniques they demonstrated by observing those who already had the knowledge (Puwar 2004), and over time they were allowed to practice until they had a 'feel of the game'. Katlego, for example, was taught how to blast panels by hand,[245] a meticulous and dangerous task, by her former supervisor and she repeated the lessons over time until she was comfortable doing it by herself. Similar to gender apprenticeship, one needs to have the "lessons, drills and constant practicing" so that they are familiar with the practices both observationally and in

[245] The mine did not allow blasting by hand because of dangers associated with it. Older miners, however, knew how to blast by hand since they had to use the hand balsting method in apartheid days. Younger mineworkers who know how to blast by hand were all taught by older mineworkers.

practice (Martin 2003: 355). The practice allows one to gain familiarity and competency (Martin 2003: 355) to a point where the performances "become like second nature", until they have a "feel of the game", like a fish in water (Bourdieu 1991). To feel like fish in water one's body has to know how to exist in water; in a particular space, in this case, underground. To do this, "the body's movement and orientation organizes the surrounding space as a continuous extension of its own being. Within the same act that the body synthesizes its surroundings, moreover, it synthesizes itself" (Young 1980: 143).

The management of gender performances, Puwar (2004) argues, entails tensions and demands. The tensions were sometimes external to the individual enacting a gendered performance. For Shado the tension manifested as a sexual advance from Mr P. Touching a woman who was considered a *madoda straight* was not common, when it happened, it was often contested by even *real mafazi*, let alone *madoda straight*. Shado related a story of Mr P who tried to kiss her while walking from the station. She said she strangled him and violently grabbed him and "almost crushed his balls" out of anger. She said she was angry at his behaviour because she thought they were "friends… and Mr P is a pastor here". By touching and trying to kiss Shado, Mr P was in fact reintroducing gender power despite Shado identifying as a *madoda straight*. Trying to kiss her was equivalent to re-inscribing her with womanhood. As a miner, she could respond assertively towards Mr P who had violated an unwritten cultural and gender code of male sociality, of behaviour between 'men' whether biological men or social men (Sasson-Levy 2003). For Shado a part of enacting *madoda straight* performance involved distancing herself from femininity by violently grabbing him and "almost crush(ing) his balls".

7.7.3 Performing Productive Masculinity: Blasting by Hand

Another key distinguishing feature for *madoda straight* women was their commitment to work, the compliance with long hours and conforming to the "culture of presenteeism" (Watts 2009), what workers call "giving yourself to work". The commitment of *madoda straight* was hardly questioned. While working with Katlego, a *madoda straight*, she displayed her commitment in different ways: she started work earlier than most of her crew members and sometimes finished later than them, sometimes she worked overtime. When I worked with Katlego we clocked in 10-11 hour shifts instead of seven hours; we started around 5:00am and usually finished after 15:00pm most days. Not having children made it easy for Katlego to prioritize her work and "to conform to the 'ideal worker' norm that is part of the gendered culture" (Rhoton 2011: 706; Acker 1990).

While other women, such as Maria, were afraid of blasting by hand, often citing their children: "what will happen to my children if I die blasting...who will take care of them", Katlego had no such concerns and in fact preferred blasting by hand. By blasting by hand Katlego showed how much she had internalized the mining practices, discourses and the informal underground values and norms that prioritize production, a rare practice by women (Sasson-Levy 2003). As a result, her gang was the most productive between level 9 and level 15. She did mine work in ways often enacted by men, she did it by performing masculinity and relegating femininity to the edges (Pilgeram 2007). Katlego transgressed gender boundaries which put women on one side; the side that does not take risks and men on the side which is characterized by risk-taking. Katlego played by the rules of the game, she "accept(ed) men's norms" (Kvande 1999: 315).

Katlego distinguished herself from other workers (Kvande 1999), both men and women. She posited herself as a mineworker and at times she explicitly said she was "a man at work". She further emphasised her occupation; being a miner, in order to mark her occupational status which was higher than everybody else's in our crew. She adopted what Kvande (1999: 315) calls a "swaggering behaviour", "a male quality to advertise oneself".

The commitment, however, is not only commitment to work, but also commitment to the team, production and passion for the machines. It also meant commitment to *planisa* and doing whatever it takes to meet production targets and get the team bonuses. For Katlego this meant blasting by hand daily and, immediately after connecting all the cables, standing a few meters from the stope. We habitually did this. Katlego said she did this because when one blasts by hand, "by the time you leave your stope. You know already you've got 1 meter of 1.5 meters of drilled rock... when reach surface you know already that you have 'a meter in the bag', you won't be surprised the following morning by an unblasted panel. If there is a misfire you can fix it immediately and blast again". I did not believe it the first time she blasted by hand, all the workers were already gone. But then, as I captured:

> "...I watched her connect the cables...the telephone cable all the way to Malome's winch... the third winch from our stope...she switched off the winch light...with only our head lamps on she asked me to stand afar, just a few meters from the winch where she was standing... she proceeded to remove the globe from the lamp stand... she had the telephone wires in hand. Just before putting the starter cable on, she said I must close my ears and face the other direction... and run fast once I hear a sound...she then turned to the lamp stand and I looked back...she placed the telephone cables, negative and positive inside the globe

> receiver. There was a spark, within a second... a loud sound. I heard the panel blast and I was too shocked to run...the whole place shook violently...

This was repeated almost every day by the gang, if not by Katlego, then by one of the winch drivers she trusted. Other gangs did the same, they were all competing with one another. For one to know how to blast by hand you have to be in the 'inner-circles', particularly if you are a woman. The willingness to blast by hand demonstrates that she had internalized the underground 'ways of being' and 'doing' both mine work and gender. Katlego wanted to be "perceived as someone who accepts, supports and complies with the standards and expectations valued" in mining and by so doing, she was also succumbing to the "patriarchal status quo" (Rhoton 2011: 708). Blasting by hand was a sign of commitment to production, to masculinity, to masculine norms in mining and, most importantly, to bonuses. This is what *madoda straight* did and it earned Katlego the respect accorded to men like Ntate Ras and other *madoda straight* men. As such, the performances legitimized her as a *madoda straight*.

From our conversations she could not imagine 'doing femininity', what she called working like a woman ("*loku joba lo ndlela kalo bafazi*") and still be productive. Doing femininity in her job, Katlego said, would mean forgoing productivity because, "*ena lo mafazi ena ayikhona jobisa lo lampu loskati ena blasta*" (women don't use their lamps to blast) which meant they do not blast by hand. She distinguished herself from other women and dissociated herself from activities perceived to be feminine (Rhoton 2011) and antithetical to productivity, as will be elaborated on when discussing participation, or lack thereof, in 'women structures'.

While she troubled the gender boundaries which marked her female body as incapable of productivity and male bodies as the only bodies that can successfully do mine work, she did

not subvert the gender order. Through 'doing work by doing masculinity' Katlego engaged in "gender practices[246]" (Martin 2003) that reproduced the hegemonically masculine gender order and the masculine culture underground (Connell 2002; Martin 2003). She often said: "I'm a man at work and I'm a woman at night". Other times she would say she is "a miner, not a woman" at work, especially when she was invited to women's meetings on surface. The ways Katlego viewed herself, the distinctions she drew between her home and work identity, points to the ways in which *madoda straight* identity was a product of and mainly enacted underground. This reveals the multiplicity of identities that are available to women at different spaces and under different circumstances. Military women also talked about identities in similar ways, Silva (2008) argues that women usually said: "I want to be seen as an officer when in my overall but outside I want to be feminine".

7.7. 4 Unionisation: "they probably talked about toilet sprays and mirrors"

To reinforce her masculine identity at work, Katlego never attended a single meeting called for women and was also highly critical of the union, only attending their meetings if they held up the cage and prevented it from going underground. A lot of *madoda straight* women, while members of the traditional unions, mainly AMCU, distanced themselves from union activities mainly branding them irrelevant since AMCU focused on amounts rather than percentage. Their wages already exceeded the amounts demanded by the union and with bonuses, they doubled what was demanded.[247] Union meetings were therefore also labelled as irrelevant by the *madoda straight* I worked and talked to.

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[246] Martin (2003:354) describes gender practices as "activities that people perform to conform to gender expectations".
[247] See Bowman and Isaacs (2014).

Similarly, women's meetings were seen as 'awkward' at best and useless at worst. Katlego said she disliked that they were explicitly and exclusively for women. Consequently, she distanced herself from women and their activities. In other studies that look at women in masculine workplaces, women reported feeling awkward attending meetings called only for women. These women argued that while they were biologically and visibly feminine, attending these meetings felt like they were acknowledging, accentuating and making visible their invisible femininity (Puwar 2004).

Rhoton (2011: 700) defines this distancing "as a discursive separation or dissociating from other women". Katlego justified hers by saying that: "all they do is complain in these meetings ...I cannot relate …they are an excuses not to work… they want to go underground late…I need to drill and blast , I cannot waste time with them.... I'm a miner at work, not a woman". This was Katlego's way of negotiating her gender and occupational identities between the two spaces. She knew from her previous experiences as a general worker that to be female or a woman in mining is to be seen as inferior and incompetent because underground privileges masculine identities (Silva 2008). By distancing herself from women's meetings Katlego was therefore constructing herself positively, as different and as hardworking, and other women as lazy.

Katlego, like male workers, ridiculed women who went to these "complaints sessions", as she called them. When I worked with her she blatantly prevented me from attending the women's meeting and discouraged me from finding out issues discussed, mockingly saying: "they probably talked about toilet sprays and mirrors" making references to complaints she had heard in corridors and at the change house. According Rhoton (2011), this is typical behaviour for

women who are doing gender distancing or femininity rejection. “Women may dissociate themselves from women colleagues to avoid being perceived as someone who might be politically engage in ‘women’s issues” (Rhoton 2011: 699).

By using “toilet sprays and mirrors” she was not only reinforcing their femininity, but was also consenting to the hegemonic ideas held about the uselessness of women’s meetings and, in fact, women in mining. This is why she said that women use their meetings as an “excuse not to work”. Across the different shafts I worked at, women’s meetings were discursively constructed as complaints meetings, unlike meetings called by men which were seen as legitimate and constructive, “dealing with work...worker issues...and money” and thus necessary. Like the army in Sasson-Levy (2003: 452), mine culture produced “spontaneous consent with hegemonic masculine ideology among men and women alike”. The use of *Fanakalo* by *madoda straight* women was another way in which masculine ideology proliferated.

7.7.5 Fanakalo as a legitimising language

While *real mafazi* such as Tee discursively refused to reproduce masculinity by refusing to speak Fanakalo, *Madoda straight* women spoke Fanakalo freely and frequently. Sometimes they mixed it with their home language. While *money makers* distanced themselves from Fanakalo both at work and at home, *madoda straight* women were the opposite, often forgetting when they were outside the mines and speaking in Fanakalo. Shado narrated a story where she met a worker:

> ...I was at Boitekong Mall, doing grocery shopping with my husband...
>
> these men came and I knew them from work...we were chatting...about

> bonus...and then my husband later asked me 'why were they calling you mlungu'... then I realized that we were speaking in Fanakalo not in Setswana...

She spoke Fanakalo effortlessly with mineworkers, whether at work or outside work. Katlego also reported similar incidents where she spoke Fanakalo "without thinking". For example, when she went to buy tiles and other building material for her new house, "...and those men were packing the material in my car... I think I thought I was at work... so I said *mina bonga madoda* (thank you fellows), they looked at me strange and I realized *eish*, I'm speaking Fanakalo". Occurrences such as this were usually narrated by men or *madoda straight* women.

Embedded in Fanakalo are words considered "rough" (Moodie 1994) or obscene. *Madoda straight* used these words more freely than all other women. Shado, when telling workers to keep quiet, often said: *hey wena satane vala lo shit ka wena*" (hey you Satan (the worker) shut that shit of yours (be quiet). Initially I thought she was harsh on the workers, until it became clear that this was part of the language, not necessarily as means to express harshness, but to merely communicate in ways that legitimate one as a mineworker. Katlego, while cautious, also used Fanakalo with its accompanying rough and sometimes obscene vocabulary. While *bafazi* distanced themselves from Fanakalo because of its roughness and boisterousness, *madoda straight* women associated themselves with it precisely for those reasons. It legitimized them and was used to assert their identity as mineworkers.

Accompanying Fanakalo was body language associated with masculinity, the rarely explicitly discussed "informal rules of behaviour" (Puwar 2004: 109). Katlego and Shado pushed, wiggled their finger, shouted and called workers *madoda* (men), instead of the usual 'respectful' reference used by other women, *msebenzi* (worker) or *bo-ntate* (father).

While *madoda straight* women seemed to effortlessly enact masculinity or to embody the underground citizenship, it is important to note that they did not come to mining already acting as *madoda straight*, they learnt their gender performances at work, and they were products of deliberate work practices and discourses. Below I describe some of the ways in which one becomes a *madoda straight,* how they acquire the 'disposition'.

7.7.7 Becoming a *madoda straight*: "you need to be one with the team, be in sync with them"

As briefly mentioned above, men learnt to be *madoda straight* or to enact mining masculinity or deploy *planisa* from their villages as young boys and when they were 'becoming' men at initiation school.[248] It was in the ways they learnt to plough, to mend broken ploughs, and learnt to shepherd. It was deeply embedded in their ways of life, embodied and facilitated by their relationships with other men who had mining experience. Women were closed out from these relationships mainly because of the gendered ways in which life was organised in the communities. So how did women become *madoda straight*?

Tshire was a learner miner, the way in which her crew members initially trained her was premised on two things: her femininity and the mine standard. Tshire was seen as a *mafazi*, a good woman whose femininity had to be preserved. As a result, they initially only allowed her

[248] The link between the village and the mines, in relation to masculinities, is also explored by Moodie (2012) where he foregrounds the role or influence of rural areas on unionisation and resistance structures in the mines. In Moodie's chapter, Phundulu who was a migrant worker and a founding member of the National Union of Mineworkers, makes a direct link between observing the Mpondo Revolts as a child and his activism later when he went to the mines.

to do a few tasks: barr down loose rocks in the morning and clean the face with water. The crew also taught her how to measure the distance between the drilling holes and how to follow the mineral using the direction line. She followed their instructions carefully and we were allowed to *rest* after completing these tasks, or to fetch water for the crew or get explosives, typical *mafazi* responsibilities.

A few weeks later, however, the crew started complaining about Tshire's measurements even though they were the ones who had taught and carefully trained her on measuring the distance. They complained that, "she marks too many holes" and, "thina *hayi khona bamba lo tshayile*" (we finish work very late). After knocking off later than other crews on their level and not reaching production targets at the end of that month, Tshire had to be taught their way of marking the face and their way of working.[249] I journaled the following on the 18 June, 2012:

> *...They were saying they want shayile (to knock off on time) this week and not to joyina (to work until late)…they said she needs to abandon the ruler and measure with her eyes (sizer ka lo mehlo ka wena)… They told her that if she sizes with her eyes (measures with eye) the rocks will be a little bit bigger but not too big…. they did not anticipate the negative consequences (Knocking off late and not reaching their production targets)...they wanted her to learn the mine standard first before they teach her their way*[250] *…*

[249] See also Salzinger (2003:68)

[250] Schilt, Kristen and Connell, Catherine, 2007 use the concept of gender apprenticing where one is socialized on how to enact the new gender as authentically as possible and with confidently. They argue that when you are an apprentice in gender you are taught the basic ways of performing that gender, such as "how to tie a tie". Gender apprenticeship is about teaching you how to be a "proper" man or woman.

On the 22 June, 2012, I continued:

> *…First thing Ntate Ras, one of our RDOs, told her is that the holes mustn't be as close to each other (a complete opposite to what they taught her a few weeks back)… they (holes) must be muhle size (just the right size) apart, a certain distance apart (between 70 degree angle and 90) …*

It was this certain distance, the *muhle* size that Tshire had to learn and master and be able to manipulate according to the direction line. She was told she needed to: "…maintain this distance once you find it or we will have many un-blasted holes- *lo misfires*". Measuring the distance with your eyes and the ability to sustain that distance from the head to the tail of the face was important for looking competent. In other words, she had to match the male style of measuring the distance (Jorgenson 2002: 352).

My observations strongly suggest that the main driving force behind the lesson was not only that they had not reached production targets and therefore needed all the help they could get, but it was that Tshire supported them, she stood by them and did not 'abandon' the crew during that period. To contest claims and figures, which said they had not blasted enough, workers requested meetings with their supervisors on surfaces. From the 18th – 20th of June meetings were held in the stope with the shiftboss first, then later in the day with the mine-overseer. After shift more meetings were scheduled on surface to explain the measuring process to the gang since the RDOs felt like they had been robbed.

Tshire and I attended these meetings with the gang. The following day Tshire and I arrived early at 4:30am, an hour earlier than our starting time, when the whole crew measured the

stope, we were involved and allowed to actively participate. After we measured another meeting was requested with the shaft surveyor to compare the two sets of data, theirs (surveyors) and ours. They wanted Tshire to attend all subsequent meetings on their behalf and "bring back a *proper* report and ask relevant questions". Ntate Ras kept saying: "*hai lo miner nalo skolo kayena, thina ay' zithembi yena*" (this miner and his education, we don't trust it). They trusted Tshire's education. But most importantly her presence at all these meetings and active contribution was a turning point for the crew and for Tshire.

After the meetings Tshire's position in the gang changed from being a *mafazi* to being a *real mafazi*. They started asking Tshire and I our real names and even proceeded to give us *mgodi* names, signalling a shift towards acceptance, not just as *mafazi* whose real names they did not even care to know, but as mineworkers who had to be given mine names (*lo gama kalo mgodi*). The nick names[251] were followed by more lessons on their ways of work, not the mine ways. From my journal:

> *Ntate Rasta was teaching me how to barr with 'skill', It's about how you stand... your feet... your hands, and your body position in relation to the rock... "Some of these rocks are stubborn" he kept saying, "they don't fall immediately, so you have to be patient, as if begging the rock to fall... gently nudge the rock from different angles until the rock gives in. You cannot be rough with it, if you're rough with it you can upset the big rock and the whole thing can just fall on you. It's like removing chicks from a big chicken" Ntate Rasta said, "...so you have to do it gently, as if you are asking the big chicken to let go of the*

[251] See Wacquant (2004) on being given a nickname, symbolizing ones acceptance as an insider.

chicks, niiiice and slowwwww and the rock guides you as to where and how you should barr it...you must show respect to the rocks", he often said, "and not just barr, or shine a bright light on it... listen to it for guidance... You'll start seeing small cracks or areas where there are loose ends, and that's a clue of where to barr, but you must be gentle and always stand in a safe position and you must be able to map out your escape route before you start barring". All of this was said in a soft and calm voice by Ntate Rasta, a man who is usually loud and rough and very dismissive towards Tshire and I.

Looking at my field notes and listening to voice recordings it is remarkable that they only shared this tacit knowledge with us, asked for our real names and gave us lo *gama ka lo mgodi* (mine names) after the meetings they deemed important, after our show of 'solidarity'. Relationships were then forged. From the relationships, knowledge and skills were informally and formally transferred to us, we were slowly included in the team's activities.

While Tshire and I did not realize it at the time, we were slowly being promoted or transformed from being *mafazi* to being *real mafazi*. While Tshire was learning to *sizer kalo mehlo* (measure with her eyes) they complimented her when she got *their* measurements right and randomly said, "*wena joba loku fana kathina*" (you are working like us now). Though I left the gang before they called her *madoda straight*, their random compliments indicated that she was on her way to becoming a *madoda straight*, but she had to consistently live up to their ways of doing things and most importantly, she had to help the crew get bonuses to be a real *madoda straight*, not just complimented for tasks.

In the very last gang before completing my research, when I was struggling with research fatigue, I requested to be placed with a night shift gang, hoping to take it easy at work and ease out of the process slowly. Little did I know that these would be the hardest and longest shifts and also the shifts where I would be called a *madoda straight*.

From my reflection Diary:

> *Night shift is where workers clean out the blasted ore, it starts at 8 or 9 in the evening until 4 or 5 in the morning... Workers get to their stopes, some stopes still smudged with dust from blasting and sometimes with chemicals still detectable on the GDI. The first thing to do is to spray water over the rock, from the entrance to the stope all the way to the face where the blasting took place. After that you can seeing better, we then start barring down lose rocks, spray with water again, check if all the winches are working properly and if they have working ropes to pull the scrapers. From then each crew member goes to their winch and start operating it until the face is clean or the tip full.*
>
> *When Madala introduced me to the gang, he said "welcome this person, lo muntu", which is very significant in Fanakalo. He went on to say I'm a human being not a woman when I asked him late that night what he meant by "I'm a human being, not a woman" he said he means I'm also here to work, just like them, I have been moved by poverty and "hunger" ... therefore I should be treated as a human being not as a woman.*
>
> *The gang gave me work to do, the first two days I mainly assisted with sewing the ropes, cleaning the face and barring down rocks. Only after a week was I*

only allowed to operate the winch. Even then, I was using Matikiti's[252] *winch and he kept checking up on me every hour. Throughout this time, Madala, our miner, kept telling me that he wasn't relaxed yet with me; he was still nervous and afraid when I operated the winch. It became clear during our conversations that for him to be comfortable it was going to take more than successfully operating the winch. He said I needed to be one with the team, be in synch with them and them with me, my spirit had to be calm. I needed to learn and know their habits, they mine, my weaknesses, times I'm likely to fall asleep or get tired, I needed to connect with them.*

Three of the winch operators got sick and couldn't come to work for days, the first day Matikiti was the primary operator of both his winch and the other drivers' winched, we knocked off at 6, the day crew complained when they arrived as we were eating on their time. That evening Matikiti came back with aches saying he cannot do so many winches in one night.

I was the only winch operator Madala could use if he wanted to finish on time, he was still hesitant and sat nearby me for the first two days, the third day he asked Matikiti to check on me now and again. He did the first and second night, the third night he never came, only when he was on break, to khokha moya, he came the day after that because I had mistakenly dragged too much ore and the winch got stuck, I made the same mistake for two more shifts. The following

[252] Since the winch bells were not working, Matikiti the first two to three hours would help direct, with his lamp, the winch operators closest to the stope. Only after that would he come to operate his winch.

week, with two of the winch operators still ill, I was again given Matikiti's winch. The scrapers got stuck again, I couldn't see with the dust and limited light.

This time around, instead of straightening out the rope for me and scraping the first few loads to make way, he came behind me, held both my hands as I was holding the winch handles, moved slowly and carefully side by side, listening to the winch sound and feeling the heaviness of the rope, slow movements side by side, then he spoke asking if I can feel that, if I can feel the rope, the handles, before I could even answer, out of the blue he violently pushed down one handles and the scrapers were straightened out, rope intact, I was impressed, but I told him I felt nothing except his violent push on my hands. Next time it happened he told me to be still, calm and pay attention to the changes in the heaviness of the handles, then the ropes, listen to the sound of the winch, move them sideways, up and down, try to imagine the ore behind and inside the scrapers and when I think I've got a good grasp of what is happening inside the scrapers, when I'm sure and I can feel it, feel the difference in the handles, then I can push one handle down as fast as I can.

I practised this every time my winch was blocked, more than a week later, I could feel the difference, but I still couldn't imagine the ore, whether inside or behind, I could not picture it, it was dark and I couldn't imagine past that darkness. With time I finally got it and I could picture the ore, I was feeling the ore, completely feeling it around the scrapers despite the distance and the darkness, I could feel it on the edges, over, behind and all around the scraper

and I knew and I could push down the winch handles, exerting as much force as I knew my scraper needed in order to be straightened out, because I could imagine it and feel it. Matikiti never came back to show me how to untangle my winch and my scrapers and Madala would crawl past me in the madala site to the stope to take his wet and dry bulb measurements, waving his hand but not stopping to tell me he was not relaxed or that he was still nervous. A few days later I heard Madala say 'nina spani manje...wena muntu kalo spani manje", meaning we're a real team, I now belong to the team... This affirmed what I had seen, that he was relaxed now around me… The winch driver came back but was told to be my guard boy and let me winch…On our way to the station Matikiti would often tell me "wena madoda manje" (now you are a madoda). When I told the gang that my time with them was nearing an end, amongst other things, Matikiti smiled and said "wena madoda manje, wena madoda straight" (now you are a madoda, a madoda straight)… on my last day, I finished winching around 3am and Matikiti came to take over to scrape clean the walkway. Madala came to remind me to start walking to the station, we left around 5h15.

Unlike in other teams where I worked with at least one woman and tried to imitate her rhythm and habits; their ways of doing work and being at work, in this team I was the only woman. I could not imitate women only the men who were teaching me work. While teaching me how to do mine work, they were also teaching me how to do masculinity. I doubt I would have received the lessons had the gang not been under pressure. Several gang members were not coming to work and it was nearing Christmas time and they could not risk not getting bonuses and that meant utilizing every 'body' in order to get a production bonus.

Even after I watched workers like Miss Bang-bang and Zodwa, and tried to imitate them and read several documents on how I could do my work efficiently, even after multiple interviews hearing workers detail how they work; the techniques and 'tricks', and tried to imitate these, I still did not embody mining masculinity, I was still not seen as a *madoda straight*. This was until my very last gang, when I was allowed to practice, when I was taught how to feel the ore, how to be one with the team, and synchronise my 'being' with theirs, to learn their habits and allow them to learn mine while I 'open-heartedly' operated the winch, not held back by any fears or worries, only then could I be considered a *madoda straight*. It was only after I was relaxed with the machine and the crew and they were relaxed around me, only then could I attain their habitus and be seen as a legitimate mineworker. This adds another factor to the distinctions between a *madoda straight* woman and other femininities. It is their ability, through the help and openness of the team, to synchronize their habitus with that of others around them. It is their ability to learn the embodied skills of what constitutes a mineworker. Embodiment is very essential, it is part of the skill. It is as important as knowing when and at which spaces to deploy the skill and in what manner and for how long.

Becoming a mining subject was clearly a negotiated process, mining masculinity was more than simply knowing ones work; it was about knowing your team, knowing your equipment, being "one with it" and feeling it even when you cannot see it. It was about having a 'bodily consensus'; a specific intuition for work and for the environment around you in its entirety (Lande 2007). It was about synchronized rhythms and about timing and about techniques and not about the self or consciousness of the self but of the team and the self as a member of the team. The team including both the living and non-living matter around.

From interviews and discussions it seemed that to be a *madoda straight* was a package with multiple expressions. I would argue that it entailed mastering the "feel for the game", a deeper embodiment than what Foucault in the previous chapter allows me to demonstrate. Madoda straight was about developing a mineworker habitus, an acceptable, embodied masculine conforming and convincing instinct. It was about embodying the mine rhythms and orders. It was about one's habits being in harmony with those of the crew and the environment around. When a *madoda straight* is barring down rocks, they do not simply remove loose rocks, which is what I thought it was. It is about how one moves one's feet, hands, when you decide to move them, how you listen to the rocks, if you are able to even hear them, how you *planisa*, if it can lead to accidents or not, the way you mark the face if you are a miner, whether you are able to mark it properly and follow the direction line and still give workers fewer holes to drill than you would if you were marking using a ruler. And if you are a winch operator it depends on whether you know how to sew the rope. It starts with how you handle the rope, how you sew it together, being able to disentangle it if you scrape too much ore. The mineworker instinct, the miner habitus is the bridge between *madoda straight* and *real mfazi*.

7.7.8 Madoda Straight Summary

> *"To cut the umbilical cord of one's past life was to create a base for building up a new self"* *(Ngai 2005:117)*

Madoda straight women were fully included underground, they were seen as "one of the boys" (McDowell & Court 1994: 745) and this made it easy for them to distance themselves from femininity. Women like *madoda straight* who were 'favoured', "become loyal citizens of the existing gender regime" and as such could act as custodians for the masculine mining culture

and structure (Sasson-Levy 2003: 460). The "illusionary prestige" conferred on them is precisely what "engenders their allegiance" to the mining system and what also reinforces other women's marginality (Sasson-Levy 2003: 460). The "mimicry practices" of *madoda straight*, while they empower individual women, serve to strengthen the androcentric mining norms (Sasson-Levy 2003: 459). By mimicking men and reproducing masculinity, they are not showing "feminist consciousness", a crucial factor in transformative gender practices, or what Kvande (1999: 323) calls "gender-political consciousness". Consequently, their gender performances do not transform the structure and gender order, but only legitimize and authenticate them individually, not as a group of women. Scholars such as Enloe (1983 and 2004) go as far as rejecting the notion that a few entrants can challenge or disrupt the gender order of institutions. She argues that they could be maintaining and reproducing it, because these institution are deeply patriarchal and depend on masculine ideology in order to carry out their goals. Puwar (2004: 115 citing Homi Bhabha 1994) says: "mimic man is disruptive because s/he shows that identity… is not a matter of essence… but rather is itself a discursive construct that sustains power relations" and validates men as natural occupants of the centre or masculinity as the norm and femininity as deviance.

Accordingly, Sasson-Levy (2003: 458) would dismiss the strategies employed by *madoda straight* women and argue that they are "bound to be futile... precisely because t(hey) reaffirm the superiority of the dominant group" (Sasson-Levy 2003: 458 citing Scott 1990). This then suggests that to disrupt masculine hegemony and masculine normativity underground one cannot look at *madoda straight* and *mafazi*. But I want to argue differently.

Madoda straight women do not entirely sustain power relations or validate masculine normativity and their strategies cannot be dismissed as futile. The fact that they can assimilate,

in their female bodies, and be included in the mining 'centre', as opposed to relegated to the margins, is itself a form of resistance and cannot simply be ignored as only reinforcing masculinity. We cannot think of their gender performances underground as mimicry, but as acting from their own positions. Their performances are deeply internalized and embodied.

For Katlego to act the way she was acting was not simply mimicry, but was who she was underground, she was acting out of what she had internalised, what had become her disposition. Bank (2011: 58) argues that: "once thus socialised, such individuals are not simply imitating foreign activities and thinking foreign thoughts. Rather they are acting and thinking from their own cultural position- *this is part of who they are*" (emphasis in original). Their performances of masculinity in female bodies opens up spaces for resistance and re-imagining gender and productivity underground. Their ability to convincingly perform masculinity and even surpass men's productivity is a real challenge to the logic and culture underground, even if they comply with masculine norms and act out the male script and adopt a masculine habitus at work. This, however, is only true for *madoda straight* women and not other three categories.

In other words, it has unintended consequences for other women. Their inclusion as *madoda straight* who can enact masculinity also serves to legitimize and "better exclude" and relegate to the margin women who do not conform and comply with masculine practices and expectations (Idahosa & Vincent 2014).

Of all the categories above, *madoda straight* women destabilize gender binaries and reject the links drawn between certain bodies and certain gender performances and the implied assumption that only men can do mine work and be productive (Sasson-Levy 2003). They do this by challenging the "naturalized" enactment of masculinity by male bodies and by

positioning their female bodies as capable of mine work. Their presence underground and their performances of gender challenges men as the natural inhabitants of underground.

This is an exposé of gender performativity. It reveals the unnatural, fluid, fictitious and performativity of gender (Sasson-Levy 2003). Admittedly, by doing the masculine script, they are not defying masculinity but are reinforcing and legitimizing its exclusivity, and normativity (Sasson Levy 2003) in mining.

At the same time, however, their enactment of gender in ways similar to men reinforces masculine normativity in the mines. So, while *madoda straight* women contravened gender boundaries and gender norms (Sasson-Levy 2003: 440) they also legitimized and reinforced masculine dominance and masculinity as the norm and feminine subordination and femininity as deviance and antithetical to the underground world.

7.8 Conclusion: Femininities in Mining

Fundamental to understanding women in mining is to understand these femininities; "oscillating", "wobbling" and "wavering" as they are (Blau DuPlessis 2002 as cited in Murray 2014: 73). Czarnianskia (2013: 62) argues that the construction of subjectivities is a never-ending task, it involves negotiating positions. It is about "the ongoing acts of positioning". It is an "everyday process created and recreated through the routines and activities and practices of our everyday lives" (Halford & Leonard 2006: 9) and is central in the constitution of a subject. Identities, therefore, are "not essential wholes, but subject-positions---shifting nodal points within often conflict-ridden fields of meaning" (Kondo 1990: 46).

Above I have presented four femininities that capture how women negotiate and construct their gendered identities underground. I have presented how they discursively and performatively "craft themselves" at work "within fields of (gendered) power" (Kondo 1990: 298). Women responded in different ways to underground culture. Some adopted the masculine norms and reproduced them while others resisted, challenged and reformulated the norms (Idahosa & Vincent 2014: 63). It is important to flag that the performances are flexible and fluid precisely because social life is not rigid and thus cannot be 'categorically' classified (Czarniawska 2013).

The femininities presented above, therefore, should be viewed as positionalities; ways of making sense of the fluid performances, the positioning and re-positioning processes involved in negotiating gendered identities. Importantly, the positions presented are meant to help move the discourse beyond the monolithic view of 'women in mining' where women are homogenized and seen as objects, weak, marginalized, and out of place 'subjects', but instead as agents. By drawing out the nuances in women's gender practices we are able to get at the ways in which women exercise and strategically deployed their agency, even in the face of marginality.

What is evident from above is that identities are produced and reproduced underground (Salzinger 2003). I have shown that it is an interactive and on-going process which is also driven by women. They are not objects in the creation of the gendered subjectivities, but are in many ways active agents.

What I have sought to do in this chapter is to capture the different positions that women negotiate underground. This is not a simple story of resistance or consent. There is a lot of

fluidity and embodiment in performances. The femininities performed also serve to extend the mining discourse, to acknowledge the presence and enactment of femininities underground.

Most importantly, the chapter raises questions about whether the presence of women in mining has served to transform mining, or to reinforce the historically dominant masculine occupational culture in the mines. If their presence and practices of gender underground reinforce masculinity, what then would a truly transformative agenda for the mining industry look like? Theoretically it raises questions about the boundaries around which gendered identities are enacted and how organisations like the mines or spaces such as underground make possible certain enactments and not others.

To answer whether the entrance in women in mining has transformed the space I return to Puwar (2004a) who argues that "the very characteristics and ways of being… are not free-floating parts of scripts that can be easily assumed by anyone. These gestures, movements and speech patterns belong to …masculinity" (2004b: 75). She raises the idea of 'socio-spatial impact' of previously excluded groups. She notes that the presence of women (and other minorities) in these spaces is a disruption, but not necessarily one that leads to overhaul transformation of culture of these spaces. She raises the question of accommodating and assimilation of new comers and argues that new comers are often assimilated and have to manage their femininity if they are to be seen. For Puwar (2004:77) "so long as the normative template, that is the yardstick by which members are measured, continues to be narrowly and traditionally defined", transforming these spaces will be a challenge. She argues that to change, "institutions need firstly to recognise the existence of this template and then to determine to change it" (Puwar 2004:77). For Puwar (2004b: 77) "the expectation that their mere presence will be *enough* to transform" institutions is "unrealistic" (my own emphasis). For Puwar

therefore, it is the occupational, the race and gender scripts that have to change. Note that she does not say it does not have any impact, she is talking about the extent to which their impact actually transforms at a much deeper structural level the way in which the institutions function or imagine themselves. She argues that "much more than the existence of these bodies… (in these) spaces is required if we are to reverse the institutionally embedded…masculine advantage". She then questions how new entrants can exist without being assimilated or excluded if they refuse assimilation.

I emphasise the agency of all the women as they navigate underground. Their agency is deployed strategically and sometimes it reinforces and reproduces the hegemony of masculinity instead of resisting it, but this is done from a position wherein the individual has strategically chosen what works for them. These individual strategies make difficult collective action by women underground.

Table 12 below brings together the four femininities enacted by women underground and shows where there are divergences and where there are commonalities. Most important, it captures the negotiation that women engage in, the balancing acts and strategic choices and thus agency of women in the construction of subjectivities.

Table 12: Summary: Categories of Femininities in Mining

	Mafazi	**Money Makers**	**Real Mafazi**	**Madoda Straight**
Self Identity / positionality	Women, Mothers and wives first	Workers	Mineworkers	*Real* mineworkers, 'one of the boys' or honorary men.
Self Construction	Weak, unfit for mine work, fragile, exaggerate femininity and valorise their domestic role	Physically incapable to work underground, mentally capable to work on surface	Capable but have technical limitations	Very capable and they do as much as male co-workers
Occupations	Equipment helpers	-Nominal equipment helpers winch operators located on surface as pikinini	Winch and locomotive operators	Winch operators and Miners
Location	Underground but far from the stope	On surface or underground far from the stope	Close to the stope	Inside the stope or very near the stope

Work Activities	-Coddled: men voluntarily work for them -Relegated to domestic work underground; cleaning and fetching water -Swaya-swaya	-Men work for them subject to conditions (bribed) -Pikinini responsibilities and activities and also work as general assistants if they are underground -Seen as lazy	-They mostly work for themselves and call for help when it requires *planisa* -Can do their specific jobs and use most of the machines trained to work with but need help sometimes - Hard workers but not yet masters	-Performs mine work excellently and even help men -Included in all mine work related activities -Masters of mine work - Hard workers who even determine the rhythm and pace of work
Work Status	Long term in mining	Transitory to other industries	Transitory to other occupations inside the	Permanently in mining and moving up the mining hierarchy to be supervisor

			stope or engineering department	
Unionisation	-Nominal members of traditional unions	Members of UASA a non-traditional union	- Critical members of traditional unions - Some were very active and even leaders	Nominal members of traditional unions
Planisa	Not applicable	Not Applicable	They can planisa but they are not experts	They planisa like men, they are experts
Relations with femininity	-Identifies with and reinforces emphasised femininity	-Rejects emphasised femininity and it's norms - Reconstructs femininity by rejecting controlling images pervasive underground	- Merge feminine practices with masculinity - Strives towards gender equality and rejects hierarchies	- Rejects and distances self from femininity while underground - Undermines what is considered feminine and treats it as an anomaly

		- Feminine superiority or intelligence hence men should work underground and women on surface		- Disputes the importance of gender equality
Treatment	Girlified or hyper-feminised	Sexualized	Respected as women who work in mining	Not treated as women but as honorary men
Relations with masculinity underground	- Reproduce the gender binary and hierarchy - They reinforce hegemonic masculinity's normativeness. - Reproduce patriarchal order underground.	-They reinforce gender binary - Critical of gender hierarchy and masculine hegemony -challenge and disrupts masculine authority, values, order and normativeness	- Tentatively reject gender hierarchy - Negotiate masculinity without abdicating femininity - hybrid gender performance - Subverts dominant gender norms	-Mimics bodily and discursive masculine performances - Embodies and reproduces masculine values, viewpoints and interests

	- Their presence underground challenges masculine exclusivity.	- Challenge expectation of what constitutes good women workers	-Rejects the dominance, exclusivity or normativity of masculine scripts	-Accepts masculine normativeness underground -Co-operates with androcentric norms and ideology - Complicit with patriarchal order and reinforces masculine hegemony
Language	Prefer local language	Prefer English and local	Mix Fanakalo and local languages underground	Strictly use Fanakalo underground
Working underground	Reinforces their femininity	Pollutes their femininity	Strengthens their femininity	Deny femininity underground

Integration	Excluded in the work, but included as a supporting member of the team	- Excluded and isolated from the team and seen as outsider	- Adequately included in the work but not in the culture and not taught some of the minute mining occupational cues.	- Fully included as an honorary men and taught cultural cues usually reserved for and shared between men.
Transformative capacity	They are respected as women, and enact marginality in ways that benefit them. They perform productive marginality by 'bargaining with patriarchy' (Kandiyoti 1988).	They are the "killjoys", they "get in the way" of gender order and disrupt some gender stereotypes and gender expectations, and they are 'willful subjects' Ahmed 2014	Re-work the underground logic, reconfigure gender practices, and reconstruct gender boundaries to their advantage. They open up spaces to enact gender in creative, 'productive' and 'disruptive' ways underground.	Emphasise the individual and are mainly concerned with changing their own position within the structure.

			They challenge and disrupt old conceptions and symbols of who counts as a legitimate mineworker and who can do mine work and what it means to do mine work.	
Gender strategy	They do gender appropriately. Tactically conform and reproduce gender binary and order. Gender inequalities are reproduced, sometimes strategically and other	They challenge and disrupt gender order and logic and contest male power sometimes outright reject it or invert it by drawing from their class	Intentionally merge their identity as women with their identity as mineworkers. They negotiate and challenge the underground or mining gender order which	They reject and distance themselves from femininity while at work. They conform and reproduce masculine culture and values in mining. They reject

	times they are reproduced in ways that legitimize gender hierarchies and sex roles.	experiences and their positions on surface.	positions women on the periphery and as lacking the skills and tenacity required of mineworkers. Though their actions sustain the gender binary, they upset the gender power structure operating underground and the equating of mining traits to masculine bodies.	feminine roles and reconstruct them and gender order depending on what is at stake. To effectively reject ideas of masculinity residing in male bodies only, they draw on their skills, productivity (ability to blast daily or often) and influence they have over workers underground.

In the next chapter I follow these different women home and see how they negotiate their identities at home, a space which has different gender performance requirements, and in the presence of their families who define femininity differently and often contrary to underground definitions. The questions raised by this juxtaposition have to do with the fluidity and relationality of gender performances and the role of spaces in this negotiation of subjectivities. What I want to look at is whether women's performances of femininity at work are transferred to home. In other words, does a transformative gender performance at work necessarily lead to transformative gender performance at home? Is there a relationship between the femininities enacted in the two spaces? What relationship is it and what does it mean for construction of gender identities?

Chapter 8: Home

8.1 Introduction

> *"Surely to be a miner is to change one's character... because at home one has to behave one way and at work another way"*
> (Moodie 1994:13)

In order to answer the questions I raise above it was necessary to adopt a "multi-site ethnographic approach" (Bank 2011: 19) and look at women's conceptions of themselves not only in the workplace, but at home as daughters, sisters, mothers and partners/wives, against the backdrop of their occupations as mine workers.[253] I demonstrate how women's conceptions of themselves at home and their occupations as mineworkers intersect or disconnect, and how they negotiate and rationalise the contradictions in their performances of gender between the two spaces.

In the preceding chapters women evoked the home space as they navigated what they perceived as contradictions in their performances of gender brought about by their work in mines. Their evocations of home complicate the 'neat' picture painted above about gender performances and their capacity to transform gender relations. Consequently, instead of sticking to the categories of femininities I constructed above, I focus on specific women and trace their negotiations of gender at home. Home, as a scale to contextualize subjectivities, seems to bring out different,

[253] While the reproduction sphere arguably extends outside the household or the domestic space and includes the community (Murray and Peetz 2010), for the purposes of this chapter my analysis focuses on the household, the home space. I am, however, mindful of the fact that informing the home space are events, practices and ideas that circulate and operate outside the home space. It is therefore implied, even though I do not necessarily deal with it here.

but connected performances of gender (Wolff 2010; Pilgeram 2007). From their accounts it seems to me that as women move between home and work not only are they crossing spatial boundaries, but are also negotiating different conceptions of femininities and performances of gender. Their narratives illuminate women mineworkers' discursive and practical reconstructions of notions of femininity at home. What comes out is a complex picture concerning whether 'subversive' or 'transformative' performances of gender at work necessarily lead to transformative practices of gender at home.

Working in the mines has challenged women's conceptions and practices of femininity at home. This has led to shifts and reconstructions of their subjectivities and other taken-for-granted practices of femininities. My argument is that, at home, women do not mechanically abdicate their work identities. Rather, they negotiate continuities and discontinuities; the grey, contested and ambiguous areas, and interactively construct fluid gendered identities.

8.2 Home: A distant space in mining literature

Home, an important space in the construction of gendered identities, has often been downplayed or neglected in mining literature or analysed only from a masculine perspective, where men are mobile migrants and women are immobile homemakers. Historically, this neglect of the household as a nearby and everyday space made sense since South African mines emphasised hiring migrants[254] from distant places such as the (former) Transkei, Mozambique, Malawi or Lesotho. Therefore, the 'home' in mining studies featured as geographically

[254] For more on migrant labour in South African mines and mining compounds please see, Sitas 1983, Moodie with Ndatshe and Sibuyi 1988, Moodie 1994, Breckenridge 1998, Allen 1992, Allen 2003, Ramphele 1993, Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout 2010, Bezuidenhout 2011.

disconnected and isolated from the mines (Forrest 2013; 2015). Emphasis was thus on single-sex hostels as 'dwelling units', not necessarily homes[255] (Moodie 1994; Breckenridge 1998; Morrell 1998).

In post-apartheid South Africa scores of workers have been moving out of mine hostels to build 'homes' or rent rooms in nearby townships and informal settlements.[256] Mines have also been recruiting from local communities (Moodie 1994; Molapo 2011), particularly in the platinum belt (Forrest 2013; Thwala 2008). This has made 'home' a nearer space than before. These changes have meant that the space that was once considered distant, disconnected and isolated has now moved closer to the mines. With women entering the mines and commuting daily between work and home the connections have been strengthened and the significance of the home space reclaimed.

[255] For a historical account on the home space see Alverson (1978). For a more contemporary study on hostels see Xulu (2012; 2014). It is important to note that while hostels (or compounds) were first built by the mines, later, municipalities and other companies (in sugar, steel, paper and brick industry) followed suits and built them to house Africans in town (See Hostel Life: Stories by ELP Learners, English Literacy project 1990).

[256] Some of these changes started in the 1980s; in 1981 legislations that prevented black workers from participating in union activities was repealed and from 1982 the Chamber of Mines allowed union organising on mine premises. These two shifts opened door for the formation of the NUM in 1982 which organised and represented black mineworkers (Crush 1989, Allen 2003, Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu 2010). Since their formal recognition, one of the demands pushed by the NUM was that hostels be abolished and family units built and living out allowance be given to those who did not want to stay in mine property (Forrest 2013). It is partly this living out allowance that has enabled workers to move out of the mine hostels into nearby informal settlements (Forrest 2013; Alexander 2013; Chinguno 2013; Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout 2008; Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu 2010) and thus build 'homes' outside the mines. The rise of urbanization and resulting proletarianisation of black workers as noted by Moodie (1994) also resulted in 'homes' that were outside the mine compounds. In the 1990s Molapo (2011) argues that mines attempted to recruit from the surrounding townships, people whose homes were nearby their places of work. Despite these changes, home as a space connected to the mines have rarely been studied.

8.3 Contested conceptions of home

The women I worked with conceived of home in a number of ways. What did not seem contested from focus group discussions was that home was central to how they performed gender and imagined and constructed their identities. Scholars too conceive of home in a variety of ways.[257] Some conceive of it as a material structure, existing as a symbol or in discursive ways. Others conceive of home as a space, place, feeling or practice. My conception of home is drawn from Mallet's (2004) review of home. In it she questions whether home is a "space, a place, a feeling, a practice or an active state of being in the world" (Mallett 2004: 65).

Mallett (2004: 65) demonstrates that home goes beyond the idea of a structure that is located in space. She argues that it is a multidimensional and complex concept`;

> "It can be a dwelling place or a lived space of interaction between people, places, things; or perhaps both. The boundaries of home can be permeable and/or impermeable. Home can be singular and or plural, alienable and or inalienable, fixed and stable and or mobile and changing. It can be associated with feelings of comfort, ease intimacy, relaxation and security and or oppression, tyranny and persecution. It can or cannot be associated with family. Home can be an expression of one's (possibly fluid) identity and sense of and/ or one's body might be home to the self"
> (Mallett 2004:84).

[257] On conceptions of home see Mallett 2004, Saunders 1989, Sommerville 1989, Jones 2000

People's sense of identity is intertwined with their ideas of home (Marchetti-Mercer 2006). In her article Mallette (2004) cites Gurney (1997) and Giddens (1984: 82) who conceive of home as a discursive construct which is brought into life through practice and 'interactions' and as a bridge between the individual and society. It is a space which embodies public ideas; where they are practiced, protected and where they come alive (Walker 2002). For my purposes it is a place where performances of gender, gender relations, roles and categories are closely monitored and policed and can also be disrupted (Walker 2002).

Mallett's conception of home does not engage with the idea of home for migrant communities or migrant women.[258] When taking migrants' ideas of home into consideration, Sabra (2008) argues that home can exist in their memory as a place of origin, a past place, where one was born and/or a place they hope to return to in the future.[259] As will be demonstrated below, the inclusion of home as a place of origin is very important for the women I interviewed, particularly because some of them are migrants; a complicated and contested term in Rustenburg. And for others, while they did not consider themselves migrants, they did not consider the places where they resided to be their true 'homes'.[260] When looking at migrant women the very idea of being a migrant, sometimes far from family and people you consider to be your community, influenced gender performances, the gender roles and expectations they navigated and the kinds of femininities they enacted in Rustenburg.

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[258] While migration in mining tends to be associated with men, black African women have also been migrating to cities since the early 19th century. Cock (1980), Ramphele (1989) Bozzoli (1991), Moodie (1994) have evidence pointing to the migration. In post-apartheid South Africa women continue to migrate to urban centre for similar economic reasons as their early 19th century counterparts, Fakier (2009; 2010), Mosoetsa (2011)

[259] See also Marchetti-Mercer 2006.

[260] The concept of home in South Africa is complicated further by the country's history. For more analysis on this see Marchetti-Mercer 2006 where she historicize and contextualizes some of the conceptions of home held by South Africans, majority of whom did not feel at home in South Africa until post-apartheid dispensation, where people were displaced through forced removals (Field 2002), a land where workers often have to migrate from their "homes" to their places of work (Moodie 1994; Mosoetsa 2011; Fakier 2009; 2010; Bozzoli 1991 Crankshaw and Parnell 1996)

Women in Rustenburg, as demonstrated in Bozzoli's (1991) study of *Women of Phokeng*, had historically influenced conceptions of home.[261] The 1913 Land Act, the mass migration to big cities from the 1920s to the mid-1930s, marriage and the return of migrants to Phokeng in the 1960s all captured the historical epochs that had a profound impact on conceptions of home. In her accounts of those who later returned to Phokeng, Bozzoli (1991) demonstrates the deep connections and relations that people had with their rural homesteads. Indeed they captured home as a space and relationships with the land and rootedness in culture.

Much like Bozzoli's respondent, the notions of home for the women I interviewed referred to relational spaces; concrete and imagined structures located in women's histories. For most migrants it was also their places of birth or a place where they grew up, where they currently live or where their children and parents currently live. Their definitions were also influenced by whether their parents were still alive or not (especially mothers) and whether parents were married or not. The marital status also played a role for some women. Home tended to be a place where women had emotional and historical ties to the place, usually located in a village

[261] See Perkins and Thorns (2000) on the importance of histories in people's conceptions of home and identity.

rather than an urban place (called a 'house' rather than home)[262]; usually seen as where one's ancestors or family[263] originated from.

For local women, conceptions of home, or who could lay claim to a home in certain areas, also evoked tenure (Perkins & Thorns 2000) and clan groups. Women often made a distinction between different clan groups within the Tswana[264] tribe, the most prominent or talked about were the Barolong and Bafokeng.[265] In Rustenburg, specifically in areas controlled by the Royal Bafokeng Nation,[266] home seemed to have a lot to do with one's clan or ancestral birthplace[267] and, for women, whether they marry within or outside the Bafokeng tribe.[268] A

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[262] Chapman & Hockey 1999; Hollander 1991, Saunders and Williams 1988 discuss distinctions between home and house. The Xhosa speakers I interviewed made more nuanced distinctions, using words such as *emakhaya (rural homestead), ekhaya (my home), ekhayeni (ancestral home), emzini wam (my house), endlini yam (my urban home)*. While Alverson's (1978) historical account of what constitutes home brushes over gendered conceptions of home and focused on a farming society, he is useful in giving a general a account of what constitutes home for Tswanas, He argues that Tswanas usually had "three residences, although only one is officially 'home'. Each Tswana lives, first, in a home village. Villages are 'nucleated' settlements composed of wards or sections that are, ideally, territorial groupings of kin by descent and marriage…It is in a village that the Tswana usually maintains a permanent residence and here he lives when he is not working on the agricultural lands, which are in some instances many kilometres from the village. At the 'lands' he often maintains a second residence, whose quality, size, and elaborateness reflect the amount of time he chooses to live there. Generally he will live there during the rainy season, when ploughing, planning and harvesting are taking place. Cattle are kept (at least for a good part of the year) at a third location, called the "cattle post". Here the accommodations are rudimentary, and those staying there are typically adolescents or others whose labour is cheap" (Alverson 1978:11-12).

[263] Workers conceptions of family went beyond biologically determined, they stressed that family included people with whom they had historical connections. See Compion and Cook (2006) for the structure of families in Phokeng which are no longer patriarchal, alternative arrangements have been on the rise with some families comprising only of children, while others were headed by single mothers or in some cases blended.

[264] See Alverson (1978) for a general introduction on Tswanas in both South Africa and Botswana.

[265] For an in-depth historical account of the Bafokeng; where they came from and when they settled in Phokeng, and how a unique Bafokeng identity was constructed, see Bozzoli 1991; Capps 2010

[266] The Royal Bafokeng Nation is a 'homeland' of the Bafokeng people and the areas they occupy and control are rich in minerals such as Platinum. See Capps 2010.

[267] In Mnwana (2013 conference proceedings), for instance, he argued that in these communities the very notion of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' is contested and full of contradictions, and sometimes these result from tensions within. In a working paper Mnwana and Capps (2015:33) show contestations and localized definitions of who is a local and who is a foreigner. Some of the exclusionary conceptions of a 'foreigner' can be traced back to Mangope (the former leader of the Bophuthatswana Bantustan) who, according to them, "dealt harshly with non-Tswana migrant miners" (Mnwana and Capps 2015:34).

[268] The idea of an 'authentic' Bafokeng has been shown in studies to be a construction of the early 1900s. While in the early period it was an open construction and people not born in the area but lived with and adopted the Bafokeng customs, including people of European descent, could be seen as Bafokeng, in later years that was not the case. Bozzoli (1991:581) for instance cites a Mr Penzhorn of German descent born to missionary parents who ministered in Phokeng, who was seen as a Bafokeng, because he was fluent in Setswana and "ate porridge

woman born as Bafokeng but who marries an 'outsider', according to the patrilineal kinship system observed by the Bafokeng, was considered an outsider and forfeited her rights to any Bafokeng resources such as land (Cook 2002; Compion & Cook 2006: 96). This 'contingent'[269] state of women had an impact in their conceptions of home, especially for younger women[270].

Home, therefore, was not only a physical place, but was a moving place, dependent on where the relations were strongest. It was informed by one's marital status and the clan to which the woman was married. In some instances home ceased to be home after a mother died and when the father took another wife, after marriage or after a divorce. Evidently, home was constantly 'reinvented' by women (Yourcenar 2006). Home, therefore, was as much about spatiality as it was about relationality.

What makes these conceptions of home important for my study is that they had an impact on women's understandings of themselves and their practices of gender both at home and at work; the women linked them to their ideas of belonging and identities. 'Who' inhabited home was as important as what constituted home. Gender roles, gendered expectations, performances, negotiation of positions and constructions of gender identities seemed to be greatly influenced by women's' conceptions of home. The way they practiced gender at work and subject

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just like us and ground sorghum". In the 1940s when platinum and Chrome were discovered in the area only those with clear Bafokeng lineage could claim to be Bafokeng. Around this period Bozzoli (1991) writes about Phokeng as a fragmented place, a place where 'ethnic chauvinism' was directed at migrants and mine workers not originally from Phokeng. Bozzoli (1991: 218) refers to Phalatse who talked of Phokeng as having 'a sense of ethnic exclusiveness'.Because of prejudice, 'outsiders' were barred from building in Phokeng. To build in Phokeng they had to get permission from the tribal authorities and sometimes they had to pay the chief two cows. The problem was, as Bozzoli's respondents demonstrate, even after getting land to build in Phokeng, one could not be buried there, even in death the 'Bafokeng-ness' identity prevailed. It is thus not surprising that to this day some of these attitudes prevail and influence the women's conceptions of home.

[269] Contingent in this case is borrowed from Judith Butler's (1991) notion of 'contingent foundations' which points to how certain conceptions, in this case, home, is premised on exclusions and contestable foundations.

[270] Himonga and Moore's (2015) illuminate other dynamics to these conceptions of home, for instance in cases where a marriage (customary) is not registered and is later dissolved or if the spouse dies.

positions available to them at home hinged on these notions of what is home, as I will demonstrate.

8.4 Blended and multigenerational households

Most of the women I worked with were from blended and multigenerational households with specific notions of femininity.[271] Married women tended to live with their husbands, children and sometimes younger siblings.[272] In these households women mineworkers had specific gender roles that were challenged, and to some extent reconfigured, after their entrance into mining (I will elaborate on this below). Single local women on the main lived at their parents' or grandparents' homes in the (rural) villages around Rustenburg and were commuting between work and their rural homestead daily.[273] As they commuted daily, so did their notions of what constitutes femininity. Migrant women mainly lived in informal settlements or mine villages[274] and these arrangements influenced how they saw themselves. Migrants' families and households were constituted differently, included a homeboy and home-girl[275] networks and were revolving. [276] It was, therefore, the rhythms and the everyday life in these homes and

[271] In Rustenburg, blended and multi-generational households are common; see Bozzoli (1991) and Compion and Cook (2006). For a historical account on how Tswana households were constituted see Alverson (1978). Mosoetsa (2011) who looked at townships in KwaZulu Natal and Franklin et al (2014) who looked across South Africa all noted the same phenomenon. See also Lahiri-Dutt and Robinson (2008) and Pocock (2006).
[272]The configuration of South African- African- households has been linked to the apartheid history, economic and political policies that targeted black Africans. For more on this see Franklin et al (2014), Richter and Morrell (2006), Richter et al (2010), Phillips (2011
[273]Statistics South Africa shows that 26.4% of urban houses in Rustenburg are headed by women with 2.5% average size. This figure excludes nearby villages. For more facts about average household size, and the number of households in Rustenburg see http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993&id=rustenburg-municipality
[274] Mine villages are areas where mines have built houses for their employees. Usually a mining company buys a piece of land and 'develops' it by building residential homes for their employees. The mine villages are not a South African phenomenon, Murray and Peetz (2010) also note similar villages in Australian mining towns.
[275] A homegirl or homeboy is mainly used to describe a person from the same village or province or town. These were very important networks for migrants both in apartheid and post apartheid South Africa. See Bozzoli (1991), Moodie (1994) and Bank (2011) for more on migrant networks.
[276] Extended family excluded grandparents, parents and children- women "mothered from a distance" (Ally 2006:302 quoting Parreñas 2001:361).

households that influenced gender roles, discourses and performances. It was also in these homes that gender performances were policed and feminine practices inculcated and 'perfected'.

Important to note is that it was against the backdrop of precarious employment and high unemployment that the women were entering mining jobs doing work that was once exclusively reserved for their male relatives.[277] As such, their wages were shared with a greater number of people than immediate families and households (Compion & Cook 2002; Mosoetsa 2011).[278] Due to new realities and shifts in social relations, households and individuals have had to grapple with real tensions around gender roles and expectations. In the case of women in mining these tensions seemed to be much deeper, precisely because they worked in an industry that was, for a long time, the exclusive domain of men. Their presence, therefore, had disturbed a lot of the taken-for-granted notions of femininity and had led to reconfigurations of gender and power relations, gender expectations and practices both at work, at home and in their communities and generally in communities around the mines. What then stands out in their narratives below is that, as women's responsibilities are being reconstructed, as they occupy spaces they were previously excluded from, and as they do work that was seen as exclusively and naturally for men, so are their positions and practises of gender. The different gender roles and expectations and notions of what constitutes work and how to enact

[277] Lahiri-Dutt (2006b) also notes similar circumstances as driving forces in Indonesia, so does Macintyre (2006) in Papua New Guinea and Caballero (2006) in the Philippines.
[278] High unemployment is common in many township and rural households in South Africa. For survival these households tend to rely on the meagre social grants provided by the States; the child support grant, old age pension grant and disability. While some people may qualify for these grants, not all of them get the money and Mosoetsa (2011) argues that even if they would get the money, poor households would still be under economic pressure.

femininities in different and previously masculine spaces, and the changing mining industry converge together resulting in new formations of different and multiple gendered identities.

8.5 Women of many worlds: fragmented and decentred selves

> *"I'm a miner at work and a woman at home… I'm a man at work and a wife at home"*
>
> *"I forget I'm at home and I say "ohhh f*ck"*

Katlego's quote above is an apt representation of the gender tensions women negotiate between their many worlds (Murray 2014; Moodie 1994:15). Minnie, the pastor's wife who is represented above as a *money maker* at work, found the changes between her home self and her other self difficult to navigate and opposed by her husband. She said:

> "...Sometimes you forget that you are at home… my husband usually says 'now you are forgetting that you are at home not at the mine'... he says that if I answer or talk roughly to him… I've become so independent. He sometimes asks why I'm doing certain chores because they are his… like fixing things around the house…I know how to do that now, we *planisa* here, we fix things... we don't like to be instructed, so we don't wait before we fix things... but at home he wants to do it and *obviously* he instructs you sometimes because he's your husband. But you think he's your shiftboss and you talk back roughly. You have to stand your ground here (mines), otherwise everyone will bully you … but now I take that home and think of my husband the same way I think of these men".

Minnie was short and said she could not easily command respect due to her height she said that talking back or "shouting and cursing" at work helped her to be heard. She said that when she adopts "this attitude" at work, "they stop taking you for granted when they see you can give them back the shit they give you". At home, however, these very actions had different, 'negative' meanings and were not allowed. To speak back to your husband was a sign of an ignoble wife and contradicted the church's teachings on how wives should conduct themselves. She had to restrain and behave herself like a good pastor's wife. As Bozzoli (1991: 132) argues, women were not supposed to "trade words with him". Her household, as many others, was guided by religiosity (and patriarchy) which saw men as heads of the house.

Minnie's and many other women's use of the word 'forget' is very important in that it reveals the deliberate effort women put into speaking "properly", doing and being in a certain way with certain audiences such as husbands (Martin 2003, 2006; Pyke & Johnson 2003; Pilgeram 2007). The fact that they 'forgot' shows the intentionality, "the situational and temporary essence of gender practices" (Sasson-Levy 2003: 448).

While Minnie swore and shouted, Nkele emphasised being, "strong-willed at work and not letting them bully you". The same qualities, however, were interpreted differently at home and thus not welcomed. Nkele said:

> "sometimes I can be a bully at home... underground we're always bullies… we'll be driving and he makes wrong turns or does not even know the road and does not ask… and I tell him what to do… otherwise things go wrong and I become mad…I feel myself getting angry inside if I keep quiet, then he asks

> something and just get mad. I feel guilty sometimes…but I hate it when he does not even ask me".

It seemed that one's survival strategy at work could lead to being scolded if used at home, especially with husbands who expected their wives to be respectful and quiet, not 'bullies'.

Another worker, Lorna, noted that she had to be mindful of her words and actions at home and, "not just do what you want to do". She said:

> "you cannot be the same person at home and in the mines…you have kids at home…at home you have to behave maturely, like an adult… you have to think about other people, like how are they going to absorb it (your words) and the kids…my son said 'mommy, since you started working in the mines you're swearing more now' I just forget that I'm at home and I say things like "ohhh fuck… you just forget… you get used to it and forget when you are at home".

While Lorna was completely oblivious to her 'language at home' her son's remarks that she was *forgetting* that she was at home point to the multiple and contradictory gender accountability regimes at play (Sasson-Levy 2003; Garcia-Lopez & Segura 2008).

To cope with the different expectations in the two spaces some women reconstructed their actions to suit a feminine discourse. Instead of seeming like Minnie was doing her husband's chores by "fixing things at home", she reported that she makes it seem like she was being a helpful wife, "supporting him like the bible commands". She said: "I just tell that I am doing what the neck does for the head... I support the head". This reconstruction of her actions helped

reduce fights "over these things" and enabled her to carve out a space for herself where she could perform a particular kind of femininity and rebrand it in ways that were legitimate in her husband's eyes and consistent with the church's' teachings.

While Minnie reconstructed discourses, Nkele said her husband had to, "get used to the new me" since she was, "not the same woman I was before working underground". Nkele said:

> "At home you cannot ask questions or they look at you funny, you cannot talk too much, you cannot do this and that and so many things…you cannot even joke…you have to select what you talk about …it was not easy… I don't care anymore… We used to fight a lot and he used to say it's my work-and he didn't want me to come work here. He is slowly accepting the way I am, I'm not going to change and be his door mat. Before I didn't even know you know, I thought I was being a good wife, avoiding conflict, but fuck that, why can't he also be a good husband and avoid conflicts?"

She was adamant that while her mine self was inconsistent with what was expected of her at home, she was not budging. She did, however, continue with certain 'feminine' activities, such as, "I still cook, clean and all of that, but he know he's not the boss".

Other women talked about challenges with managing not only performances of gender at home, but gendered relationships. Nonzi, as noted in Chapter 4, disliked working underground yet she liked being underground because she felt that she did not have to conform to gender expectations underground and could forget herself and her problems. She said this about home:

> "whenever I'm at home I always miss being at work, a lot…sometimes when I'm at home I tell my mother to pretend like I'm not around, I just want to sleep and not talk with them so much because they always tell me I'm different now…I cannot do A, B, C, or I should do A, B and C. At home it's like you have to watch everything you say... I still feel uncomfortable when people are kissing on TV, it's a little embarrassing…you're not that comfortable at home as you are at work… we joke a lot here (mines), I cannot joke with them (family) about other stuff.[279] If I even talked about kissing, they would ask me where I learnt that from. I'm from a serious family…Here we're used to being open minded about everything but at home you cannot. In the mines, people do things they would never do at home…I'm aggressive at work…but at home I'm a conflict avoider…here you are free, more free than at home".

Nonzi was very mindful of the different 'gender scripts' and expectations between the two spaces and she had difficulties bridging the gap or harmonizing her actions accordingly. The mine self was seen as open-minded and talkative while the home self was the opposite. Thus, the presence of the mine self at 'home' was rather noticeable. To negotiate her way out of what seemed like very rigid gender expectations and different accountability systems (Garcia-Lopez & Segura (2008), she disconnected herself from her family and asked that they pretend like she wasn't around.

Women's portrayals of their experiences at home capture subjects who were careful with their actions and words, what could be characterised as a "nervous condition", where the subject

[279] Krieger 1983 on jokes as part of mine life in "A Miner's Life"

was attempting to integrate and harmonise what seems like incompatible identities (Dangarembga 1988; Lahiri-Dutt 2006), where the self was fragmented and decentred.

At home, and perhaps counter-intuitively, women reported feeling the 'weight of the water', suggesting that women were not necessarily 'like fish in the water', or that they felt like "fresh water fish in sea water ... meaning the fish swims, however it has a heightened sense of being conspicuously out of place" (Puwar 2004: 130). Consequently, women who lived with their (extended) families, as opposed to migrants who lived with homeboys and home-girls, felt that they had to restrain themselves and manage their performances or avoid situations where they would have to act out of character or conform and thus reproduce emphasised femininity. How then did women (as wives, mothers and sisters), against their occupations as mineworkers, negotiate and manage their gender performances at home? The real negotiations and shifts became visible when one focused on how households operated on a day-to-day basis in light of women's engagement in the mines. What emerged is a picture of a somewhat 'disturbed gender order' and whether that is transformative remains contested.

8.6 Intimate spaces: household responsibilities

> *Zolo, the old man in our gang asked us what we did on the week-end… Tshangi, our ROD, said he went drinking after work on Saturday and in the evening went to Heystek[280] … on Sunday he slept the whole day...Mogapi, our miner, went to visit his girlfriend, she's pregnant and they needed to buy a few things for the baby... Zolo, a traditional healer, told us that on Saturday he went to see his*

[280] Heystek is a place where sex workers operate from.

clients in the villages around Chaneng".... On Sunday he went to the forest to look for muthi[281]*... Maria said she did laundry, (hand) washed clothes for her and her two sons…she also cleaned the house and did "other house chores that are too big to do during the week" and cooked… On Sunday she ironed school uniforms for her youngest son, cooked again, cleaned, prepared their lunch boxes and had an early night.*

Maria, Zolo, Tshangi and Mogapi's duties at home were markedly different. During our morning walks from the cage, while men in our crew were in a hurry to get to the stopes and start working, Maria regularly mentioned being tired, Maria still had to do housework when she arrived at home. Her position within her household had not changed because of her engagement in mine work. What had changed for Maria, however, was how members of her community saw and treated her. Having an income and a full time job, she argued, elevated her status in the community. Maria said: " ...people envy me ...they see me leaving the house or coming back from work carrying a hand-bag and bringing home plastic bags with food and nice things(fast food) for the children". The envy by neighbours, most of whom could not "bring home plastic bags with food" signified a change in Maria's social and economic status. Her ability to live up to her "maternal responsibility" made her job a worthy and "respectable pursuit" (Kenny 2008: 377).

Like Maria, Bonang's household responsibilities had not been transformed. If anything, Bonang reported her husband's withdrawal from household responsibilities, leaving them all to her *because* she was working. Bonang complained that her husband never volunteered to

[281] Traditional medicine; herbs, roots and tree bark.

stay at home when one of their three children was sick; it automatically fell on her shoulders. Since Bonang started working in the mines her husband stopped buying groceries and instead gave her R700 (56 USD) to buy food for the whole family, the rest came from her wages. Bonang kept asking: "what can you do with R700?...It's so little, it barely covers nappies (diapers) and (milk) formula for the last born…he says I'm working now so it should not be a problem buying food and taking care of the day care fees". According to Bonang, he became 'heavy handed' with her after she took a job in the mines because, "he finds it embarrassing that his wife is a *malayisha* (lasher) underground... he's punishing me for working... he does not even help around the house".[282] Working in the mines for Bonang and for Maria had disturbed the power relations at home, the exclusive powers that used to rest with their husbands. More so for Bonang than for Maria, working as a *malayisha* was "a dark spot in (her) honour" and her husbands' respectability (Weinstein 2006: 172). Some women, however, seemed to have very different responsibilities at home, precisely because they were working in the mines and were the main bread winners. Their narratives show disruptions in gender power relations at home.

Nelisiwe, a *money maker* according to the categories in Chapter 7, like men in her family, devoted very little time to housework (Bozzoli 1991; Mosoetsa 2011; South & Spitze 1994), and spent her weekends sleeping or visiting friends or bars. The traditionally feminine

[282] Studies comparing the contribution of men and women have consistently found that married women, even when they are engaged in employment outside the home, continue to contribute significant amounts of their time taking care of the children and the house, compared to their husbands and women who are not married (Bozzoli 1991; Shelton & John 1993; Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, Robinson 2000; Macintyre 2006; Fakier 2009; 2010). Bozolli (1991) brings these findings closer and shows that, even though Tswana men contributed to housework it was with minimal tasks and it was done on their terms and did not exempt women from doing the work. While men did not contribute to the day-to-day running of the house, they however contributed financially, putting Bonang's husband's unwillingness to contribute financially is stark contrast with general literature. In Mosoetsa (2011), however, men could not contribute to the finances because majority of them were unemployed.

responsibilities were the domain of her mother and sisters, whom she supported financially. She said her job now is to:

> "Bring home the dollar. I buy the electricity, I buy groceries, my grandmother's pension only buys a few things, like replenishes things that get finished. I support everyone here, even my older sister who is at nursing school is my responsibility and her daughter…they take care of my son, wash him before bed time, feed him … everything... I work hard underground. I need to be well rested after a weekend".

It was similar for Zodwa, who was a *madoda straight*. She did not stay with her parents, but supported them financially. In return, they took care her two children: "m*ina nika lo mama ka mina lo mali, ena buka lo ma pikinini ka mina*" (I give my mother money and she takes care of my children).[283]

Nelisiwe also reported having voice and more bargaining power and could influence decisions within the family (Kelan 2009; Sil 2011). Her father wanted to extend their house but because he relies on pension money, he could not do it alone and needed financial assistance from Nelisiwe. She said:

> "My father was pushing. And you know he is not used to asking or talking to us about thing, but now he has to talk to me. He does not earn as much

[283] The practice of remitting money 'home' to care for children and parents is common in migrant households, Mosoetsa (2011), Fakier (2009), Moodie (1994), Bozzoli (1991), Phillips (2011), Franklin et al (2014).

> anymore…He wanted to build more rooms, extend the house… You remember when you slept here, there is no space inside and all the kids share that room… We talked, I told him I do not have the money... I was already doing everything. But also this house is not ours, it belongs to my grandmother…Our aunts can kick us out anytime they want to… So it did not make sense to extent the house".

Her father, a man who never consulted the women in the house before carrying out big projects since he was using his own money, now had to talk to his daughter and ask for her help. From the interview with Nelisiwe, while this was a discussion between her and her father, she had more power than him in the decision since the money was eventually going to come from her.

She objected to extending the house and preferred to build extra rooms in the backyard. Initially her aunts predictably disagreed, preferring an extension of the main house to a separate structure in the back. Eventually they came around and supported Nelisiwe. She said it's because: "they did not really have a choice if they wanted more space and I was not going to extend the main house". Nelisiwe could withhold or disseminate her resources as she pleased. Having a paying job and money shifted her position and ability to influence decisions within the family (Gulati 1984; Mercier 2011: 40).

Interestingly, both Babalwa and her husband (interviewed separately), who was also a mineworker, said that her employment in the mines had changed their marriage. According to both of them, Babalwa, a *money maker*, "*now* influenced decisions *more* than before". She said that unlike before, when she did not question her husbands' financial decisions since she did not contribute, she *now* had a direct influence and a say in how and what they did with the money. According to Babalwa the money belongs to both of them *now*.

Babalwa's husband confirmed the shifts in power relations. He said: "*ena camanga, ena ndoda lapha khaya manje. Yena funa jela mina zonke lo ma into, phela ena jobha manje, ena yazi lo mali. Manje mina fanelile mina khulumisana nayena*" (now she thinks she's the man of the house. She wants to tell me what to do or what not to do because she's working…It's difficult to say no because she knows a lot more now about our money, before I made all the decisions, now I have to sit down and we discuss). In their case it was not only the financial decisions that Babalwa had begun to influence, but also household responsibilities. Her husband worked night shift and she worked, "*hard* doing day shift" and he said he now cleans the house, something he never did before:

> "I tidy the house…she works hard. I work night shift, if we finish our early we can even sleep underground…it's easy for me to clean during the day...she hates coming home to a dirty place… I also cook sometimes…two or three times a week… she only cooks on weekends and she does the washing…when she gets back home she is tired…eats …and sleeps".

Their day to day lives had been restructured because of her engagement in mine work and her daytime shift. Babalwa's husband was practising what Marsh (1988: 180) calls "masculine domesticity", the manly acts that incorporate female activities such as cleaning.

Babalwa was one of the few women whose husbands contributed to household chores. It seemed that with her employment there was a "social, moral and ideological reorganisation" (Bozzoli 1983: 146) in their household. This, however, was limited to their home in Rustenburg and did not extend to his parents' home. Unlike before, when Babalwa did not question her in-

law's expectations that she does all the housework when they visit, after she started working she said she did not like that they wanted her to work while her husband did nothing. She said: "*mina jobha fanana nayena, lo skati ena fika lo week-end, mina khathaline sterek, kanjani enaz funa mina jobha lapha kalo muzi kaye lo skathi mina khathalile? Kanjani, ena zikho right lo into*" (I work, just like him. When week-end comes, I'm as tired as he is. How can they expect me to do work in *their* home (her emphasis) when I'm also tired? How?). She was very critical of her in-law's expectations and the power they re-introduced in the gender divisions of labour in her marriage. In the interviews she expressed that, just like her responsibilities had been reconfigured in her household, she expected the same in her husbands' home.

While her husband was now doing household chores, he did not necessarily talk about them as his contribution to their household, but rather as assisting her. His role was also "temporary, voluntary and peripheral" (Swenson 2009). As an attempt to protect his masculinity, or at least the concept of masculinity (Innes 2001) as understood by his parents, he expected her to engage in domestic duties at his parents' home, like a 'good wife' should.

For him, gender categories were still intact, regardless of the fact that he was now doing housework and 'assisting' Babalwa. He said: "she is as woman... she forgets that sometimes just because I help her… it does not mean it's my job", implying, therefore, that housework was the domain of women and when they were with his family, they returned to the traditional divisions of housework. Babalwa's husband said she was '*forgetting'* that he was the man and by extension the master (Silberschmidt 1999) who could play or assist as he pleased. He could clean and she could relax, but with the extended family, they had to go back to their 'real' roles.

The husband went on to point to other shifts, the ways that Babalwa "forgets" her position in their marriage and household. He said:

> …she likes to make decisions now… *ena tshatile mina or mina tshatile ena?* (Did she marry me or did I marry her?)…She thinks she married me… there is a difference when your wife has married you and when you have married her. You are the head of the house if you married her… W*ena lawula ena, lo skati yena bamba lo ma decisions wena fanana nalo pikinini kayena. Yena fanela buya lapha kawena, yena jela wena 'baba mina cela kuyenza so so so'* (you are the one who controls her, but the minute she takes decisions without consulting you, you are like her baby. A wife is supposed to come to you and say, 'father, I'm asking to do this this this')… now she thinks she can tell me I cannot buy cows… what's going to feed me when I retire from the mines if I follow her instructions and not buy the cows?...things like curtains and pots…she can decide if she buys those, but not cows...*lo yinto yena lo yinto kalo madoda* (this is a decision that can only be taken by men).

Babalwa's actions show the ways in which she was contesting power and negotiating her identity at home (Bank 2011). According to him, however, Babalwa was encroaching on his traditional role and undermining his authority as the traditional head of the household. In response, he defended his masculine honour' and position of authority as the man of the house, and thus final decision maker (Bozzoli 1983).

Babalwa's husband argued that his adoption of the 'helpful' subject position at home was for practical reasons, "*mina siza ena"* (I am assisting her), but he was "still the husband", implying that the gender order had not changed and that he was still in control. He emphasised this by

pointing out that *he* married *her*, not the other way round, implying that he had authority over her and the household, and as such, 'helping out' was out of choice and did not diminish his masculinity and power (Innes 2001). While gender practices and norms were contingent and could thus be modified at will, his power as a man, and the gender order with masculinity being hegemonic, was inherent and could not be challenged. At the same time, however, the contingency of the norms and practices revealed the artificiality of the gender boundaries. Both men and women crossed them with ease; both men and women performed "transgressive acts" without even perceiving them as such and instead, reconstructed them as gender normative acts.

While Babalwa did not see housework as her sole responsibility anymore, for Katlego, a *madoda straight* miner who acted like, "a man at work and a woman at home", this was not up for negotiation. She said: "cooking, ironing, and cleaning… that's what I have to do as a wife. I have to be nurturing to my husband and do all my wifely duties". Shado, another *madoda straight* miner concurred and said: "*lo skati wena fika lapha khaya, wena hayi khona mlungu, wena mafazi*... (it does not matter how important you are at work, when you get home, you are a wife)...you still need to cook for your husband… give him food on a tray, not with your hands… and kneel". The two of them were therefore, "respectable workers" in the mines and "responsible mothers and caregivers" at home (Kenny 2008: 376, 379). Contrary to Kenny's (2008) women workers, whose meanings of respectability shifted over time from emphasising one's ability to provide for their family in the 1940s to emphasising their maternal role as caregivers and homemakers in the 1950s and 60s, Shado and Katlego, straddled both.

At work, for instance, Katlego devalued femininity and stigmatized women who did not conform to masculine ways of being. At home she did the opposite, she valorised femininity

and stigmatized women who did not conform to feminine stereotypes of cooking and ironing for their husbands. At home she tried to be a depoliticized subject, not a woman who pushed for equality. Katlego and Shado, women who were *madoda straight* at work, insisted on their 'God-given responsibilities' at home and went as far as rejecting the help offered by their husbands with certain household chores, especially chores they considered to reflect on their competencies as women and as wives (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer & Robinson 2000; Lahiri-Dutt 2006b; Lahiri-Dutt & Robinson 2008).

According to Katlego and from informal conversation held with her husband, Katlego's husband insisted on contributing towards household chores. This led to many frustrations for Katlego who insisted that it was because he earned less than her and felt the need to work at home to 'compensate'. The two of them were building a home in a neighbourhood a few kilometres from their current place and Katlego expected him to work closely with the builders. However, he had no interest in the job and left it to Katlego since, according to him, she knew the work better than him (it was similar to what she did at work), carried the main bank cards and also used the car since her shifts started earlier than his. From this example it seems that women's positions at work, without even intending to, influenced their power at home.

The building project slowly became Katlego's after work responsibility, not her husbands' as she had hoped. This infuriated her and she often said: "now I have to be a man both at work and at home, go buy building material, buy the tiles, cement, and door frames. Everything waits for me". She wanted her husband, "to be the man of the house and take charge", to enact a certain kind of masculinity that would allow her to enact traditional femininity. While Katlego's rejected gender power, roles and categories at work, at home she actively tried to reinforce them.

Because of her job, the money she earned and the power it had compared to his, the traditional roles were challenged. In her relationship she embodied power. “She makes the decisions” was her husband’s much-loved response for a lot of the questions I asked him in our informal conversations. In a conversation between him, Katlego and me, to justify Katlego’s challenge that he was not playing his role in their marriage, he reconstructed what Katlego had painted- an inactive husband- and said: “women know these things better. I don’t know which door knobs she will like, she’s very specific... the decorations on the tiles... for me they all look the same. But for her they are very different…she must go look at them and decide”. His response acknowledged her power relating to decisions taken in their household. At the same time he also reconfigured her actions and constructed them as feminine by evoking decorations and flowers when talking about buying tiles and doors and door knobs. Implied in his discursive construction of Katlego’s position was that he was in fact being masculine by not buying tiles and doors since he had no knowledge of the flowers she might prefer, so he deliberately left it to her.

Katlego and Shado’s performances of gender, and their expectations at home, contradicted their work practices and the values they promoted amongst women. They justified that such values only applied at work, not outside- though for Shado this was not so clear cut (as I will demonstrate below). In most cases above, except for Bonang and Maria, gender practices at home had been reconfigured, but the gender order, it seems, minimally so. Instead, it was negotiated in ways that did not outright undermine men’s masculine roles and women’s feminine roles.

While Shado believed that gender order and relations should not be troubled at home and thus played conformist gender games at home by doing what was expected of her, such as preparing food for her husband and "giving it to him on a tray", at other times she pushed the feminine boundaries and challenged gender practices. Shado kept all the household's bank cards, including her husband's business bank cards and cheque books and gave him pocket money- this re-inscribed different power relations, with her at the helm.

8.7 Finances: "I can't even go buy beer; I have to ask like a child"

Shado's husband operated a photocopying and printing shop in town. In addition to keeping all the bank cards and cheque books, Shado was also the main debt collector for her husband's shop. Since he had become good friends with most of his clients and was uncomfortable demanding late payments, as the finance manager in their household, and for the sake of their daughter's future, she became the debt collector and finance manager, "to make sure that he was not running us to the ground".

According to a number of men and women I interviewed and held informal conversations with, it seemed that women keeping and controlling the household purse was common practice with local men. Most wives, therefore, were "thrifty homemakers" and made most if not all decisions about household expenditures (Macintyre 2006; Swenson 2009). With Xhosa husbands, however, women only received a portion of the money and not the bank cards. A Setswana speaking RDO in our team, Maemo, said:

> … There is only one banker at home... It's my wife… she keeps the money…all of it…She keeps all the bank card… I only see the pay slip… I used to steal the

> card but she changed the pin code so I don't know it now… (If I need money) I have to ask her …and I work *skontiri* [284]…

He did not seem happy with this arrangement, saying it made him feel like a child: "... I can't even go buy beer; I have to ask like a child... my friends end up buying for me". During focus group discussions other women also confirmed being the household finance manager and being given full wages by their husbands or male partners. Nombulelo, who was cohabiting with her mineworker partner, said that her partner's salary was hers, she said:

> "He gives me everything. …I mean his salary, all of it comes to me… he only takes bonus money… It's mine… not really mine, for the household. I have to do everything, pay for everything; food, electricity, water, everything, everything… it's not like I get the money for myself".

It was evident that money was not controlled by men alone, most local women were given the reigns or could at least influence finances now that they were also earning.

That this was indeed a recent shift was corroborated by women who said that, when growing up, their grandfathers and fathers worked in the mines and only gave their mothers a portion of their wages, they did not control money (including local women). Giving women full wages and all bank cards was a recent significant shift in power and gender relations in the household.

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[284] Skontiri is an extra 8 hour production shift worked on 'off-Saturdays'. Workers who work this shift get paid double their daily rate and get their money immediately after the shift. It is paid by Teba (a former recruitment arm for the mines during apartheid that now operates as a bank) upon the worker producing the day's pay slip. They do not need a bank card to withdraw *skontiri* money. It is deducted from their monthly salary

While there were shifts in most cases, a few women also noted what seemed like a backlash from husbands precisely because the women were earning and were no longer dependent on them. While at a shopping mall in Rustenburg I met Masha, a woman I had worked with in 2008 who had since changed employers and been promoted to a mine overseer position, second to a mine manager. Below was my diary entry after our brief encounter:

> …I saw Masha today at the mall… when I worked with her in 2008 …she was a learner miner, now she has moved to another mining house and is acting as a mine-overseer…she was buying new clothes with her husband…He was holding her bag and to pay, she asked for her wallet from him... as he took it out he looked at me and said "she's the boss now" As they approached the cashier he repeated it 'she's the boss now'. Since I was still waiting for an empty till, he quickly returned to me after putting the clothes on the cashiers' table and whispered, (almost displeased) "can you believe it? She just started working in the mines a few years ago, but now she's my boss, do you see this thing (of women in mining)? She has the money… it's not fair this thing of women in mining… it's not fair that she can blast and I cannot" after that he returned to help her pack the clothes.

Masha's entry into mining was clearly 'challenging' her husband. There was resentment in his voice and gestures. The fact that his wife could blast, an epitome of masculinity, and he could not, troubled him greatly and he felt the need to come back and qualify the changes, it was not him who was not enacting masculinity, but "this *thing* of women in mining". The fact that she could blast and bring home more money seemed to have deeply unsettled him. He looked embarrassed when she asked for "my card to pay". Other male workers also shared Masha's husband's sentiments. They talked about the (negative) effect that the fast tracking of women

had in their homes. Babalwa's husband, for instance, referring to his home and those of other workers, said:

> "they (women) work for a few years… and become winch operators like you, and earn the same money… even if you've been here for ten or twenty years before them… they start thinking they are clever… they are better… and they stop listening".

While the inclusion of women has lessened the financial burden for husbands, it seems to have also brought on insecurities and tensions in households. Most importantly, these have shifted power relations and reconfigured gender roles. Some women claimed legitimate victories in their households because of the power shifts, the ambiguities in their roles brought about by their participation in mining, a space that was only for men.

The influence other women had went beyond household and business finances to other financial domains that were consider strictly masculine. Shado, as a miner, an occupation her male relatives were all familiar with, used her power to influence what was meant to be their decisions. During her cousin's *lobolo*[285] negotiations she managed to influence the money her uncles' requested from the groom's family. This started in one of our shifts. From my diary:

[285] *Lobolo* (or *lobola*) is bride price paid by a man to the family of the woman he wants to marry. It is usually paid in the form of livestock or cash (Ansell 2001; Macintyre 2006; Mupotsa 2014; 2015; Himonga and Moore 2015), clothing, food and drinks (Madhavan 2010). Preceding *lobolo* payment are negotiations of the bride price. The price is usually determined by the male relatives, based on the woman's economic potential, her educational levels and potential to bear children (Madhavan 2010; Mupotsa 2014). The negotiations are usually held exclusively by male relatives of the bride and groom, in the absence of female relatives. The exclusion of women from the negotiations is usually strictly enforced, thus making it difficult for women to influence *lobolo* negotiations both formally and informally. See Himonga and Moore (2015) and Mupotsa (2014; 2015) for more nuanced, comprehensive and critical discussions on lobolo.

> Tebogo, our shiftboss, is dating Shado's cousin … he is also friends with Shado and her uncles… he is going to pay *lobolo* end of next month…while he is friends with the uncles he said he does not want to talk to them about the *lobolo* negotiations, but to Shado...he asked Shado to informally speak to her family on his behalf and suggest how much they should 'charge' him for *lobolo*... it was all going to be based on what he told her he can afford... she told him she's going 'home' this week-end and will start the talks with some of her uncles and the rest of them later this month and get back to him… she asked him how much he has

The informal *lobolo* negotiation that took place between Shado and the shiftboss is something that usually happens strictly between men. Women, except grandmothers, are known to have little or no influence over the process. For the shiftboss to go to Shado instead of the uncles, even though he was friends with them, was a display of her influence at home. Shado played gender and power games; conforming, disrupting, negotiating or rejecting as she saw fit and at times using her economic (occupational) capital at home when she had to.

The way in which finances were approached also marked a shift, a disruption in gender practices and roles at home. Because of women's financial power and reconfigured responsibilities, they could effectively challenge certain gender practices. Shado's uncles, who allowed her to influence their *lobolo* decision, were also implicated in these transgressive performances of gender.

One place where women seemed to adhere to notions of normative femininity were at religious places, mainly the church. The contestations of femininity at church go beyond the tensions noted above in discourses and practices to tensions in the very idea of what constitutes femininity against a backdrop of a woman who works in the mines.

8.8 Christian femininity: a godly and spiritual female mineworker

At home, Minnie, the pastor's wife, enacted a femininity that displeased her husband at times. To keep the peace, Minnie discursively reconstruct her performances and make them consistent with the bible. At church she said she was "a *real* mamo ruti" (a real pastor's wife), implying sticking to traditional roles and, "being an example to others, especially the youth…being my husband's assistant… guiding young women on how to be godly women... not leading my husband but allowing him to lead".

While at church Minnie was viewed as the embodiment of 'Christian femininity' and thus a good and respectable[286] woman. At work she had an opposite status. She was seen as what (Bozzoli 1991) calls 'disreputable'. She was viewed by men as 'an unchiselled woman' who had no respect for men and did not embody femininity. At work she talked back to men and used 'mine language' which were markers of a loose woman. At church, however, she knew how to act out her 'Christian femininity', a contradictory idea according to Gaitskell (1983).[287]

[286] For more on feminine respectability see Mercier & Gier (2006) who also link femininine respectability with family respectability and miner's wives as civilizing agents to their husbands. See also Bloomberg in the same volume (Gier & Mercier 2006) who links respectable femininity to domesticity and Christianity.
[287] It was contradictory in that it valorised housewifery; at the same time it prepared women to be domestic servants in white suburbs (Gaitskell 1983). The very women who were expected to stay at home and be benevolent mothers did not have that option; economic and political circumstances necessitated that they go outside the home to work to supplement the meagre wages of their husbands. By so doing women left the children they were meant to care for, went and care for other people's children in cities (Gaitskell 1983).

In Rustenburg, Bozzoli (1991: 61) talks about the prevalent mission schools which were like a "University of domestic work" which taught women the art of domesticity. Valued, therefore, in 'Christian femininity' was a woman who knew that her place was in the kitchen, not in the mines or underground, who respected her husband and met his familial needs; she cooked for him, knew how to care for children, sew and knit clothes and could even do first aid (Gaitskell 2000; Erlank 2003; Macintyre 2006; Blomberg 2006; Gier & Mercier 2006).

Since mine work went against all the Christian feminine values noted above, it was not surprising that Minnie's husband, who was a pastor, did not want her to work in the mines, the corrupting, hidden, dangerous and masculine underground mines. In our interview she said that before they got married he asked her to leave her job so that she could take care of their children: "he said he makes enough money... he has been asking me to quit working... we agreed that after I have a baby then I'll leave the mines...He does not like the mines... he always tells me that..." By all accounts, in her pastor husband's eyes, Minnie's work went against the very idea of femininity, especially 'Christian femininity' which privileges and exalts "the cult of motherhood" (Stoler 1989: 644) and housewifery, which encourages women to stay at home and raise children (Gaitskell 1983; Erlank 2003). Minnie's life, when looking at what 'Christian femininity' valorised, was a contradiction; at any stage she could be a bad woman (especially underground), a bad Christian (with her husband who had been asking her to leave the mines), a bad worker as well as a bad wife who challenged patriarchy at times. At the same time Minnie could also be a good wife who respected her husband at home, and set a good example to the congregation in this regard. She negotiated all these positions, the performances, the roles and identities.

Katlego, the miner who was seen as a *madoda straight* at work, was seen as a good, godly and spiritual woman at church. What constituted a godly woman was her display of feminine characteristics, close observation her pastor's teachings and her consistent financial contributions. She made remarks that her pastor sometimes used her as an example to the congregation to encourage other church members to give.

At home, other family members, besides her husband, viewed her differently, neither masculine nor feminine, but 'inadequate' and 'lacking' since she could not have children. Having children was important not only for Katlego's in-laws, but according to Christian marriage ideology which esteems motherhood (Gaitskell 1983; Macintyre 2006). Women like Katlego who had no children, were seen as inadequate and tended to be discriminated against (Kvande 1999; Bozzoli 1991). Bozzoli (1991: 130) argues that in Phokeng, having children was linked to respectability since children were seen as the "bearers of lineage or the broader ethnic heritage". Women's socialization, particularly by missionaries, taught women to care for children (Macintyre 2006). Bozzoli argues that from an early age women were taught how to care for children and later in life were expected to also bear them. Having children was so important that it preceded marriage (Bozzoli 1991; Moore 2013), and also followed it, and infertility was seen as a disgrace (Bozzoli 1991), "one of the greatest tragedies of life" Silberschmidt 1999: 39).

Having children, both inside the mines and outside, was one of the most important indicators of femininity. Without children a woman was considered a pseudo-man or, to use Bozzoli, a disgrace. Childless women, as I learnt from Tee, were considered "a waste", "useless" and in

religious groups, they were seen as "ungodly" and "sinful", as if it was out of choice.[288] Because Katlego did not have children of her own it meant navigating very rigid symbols of femininity and respectability, ones centred on motherhood. Her position at work did not shield her from in-laws who used motherhood to gauge her femininity. Outside work, she did not have the same status and could not claim the same kind of respectability, these were "temporal" and "localized" to her workplace, especially while underground (Sasson-Levy 2003: 459). While Katlego was respected underground, the situation was different with her in-laws. They contested and sometimes rejected her respectability by evoking motherhood or child-birthing.

Katlego discursively contested this lack of status with her in-laws by constructing and dismissing them as being "backward", "ignorant" and "traditional" for using motherhood to judge her and as a proxy for respectability: "These people didn't go to school... how many of them even have Matric...you won't believe...they are not even working...they don't know anything, they just sit and wait for (government) grants every month". She then positioned herself as an educated and modern woman who subscribes to different notions of what constitutes respectability: "you see me babes, I work hard...and I make sure I don't stay in the same position for long, I move...so if they want me to be like them where would I be now? Here in the mines or sitting at home with them... and poor and waiting for grants[289]".

Part of her negotiation also tapped into her financial position and her responsibilities. She said: "I don't have to give birth to be a mother, my sister's kids are like my own, and I support

[288] For more on how churches valorised motherhood see Ally 2009 and Phillips 2011. The very idea of *manyano*, which Ally (2009:302) defines as 'mother's prayer union' was centred on motherhood. See Gasa 2007a for how some of these women's movements were an important springboard for feminist ideals.
[289] She was referring to the child support grant given to primary caregivers of children if the child is under the age of eighteen and the caregivers is either unemployed or earns an annual income of less than R34, 800 for single parents or R69, 600 for a married couple (South Africa Government Services 2014).

them...I've got money... I'm not like them who have kids they cannot even support". In saying this, Katlego was reconstructing motherhood as giving care, contributing economically, (Kenny 2008), and not only giving birth. She was not rejecting motherhood as important, but was reconstructing its meaning and broadening it to include herself and others who care for children they did not birth.[290] She was contrasting her ability to provide as better than giving birth to children you cannot afford. In a way, she was positioning herself as more motherly than her in-laws who judged her for not having children while they could not afford to support the children they had. Her discourse of what constitutes femininity led to intersections between her job, her financial position, home responsibilities and the negotiation of those identities. Evidently, religious notions of femininity were disturbed by women's engagement in mine work, an industry that represented the bastion of masculinity.

8.9 Conclusion

The home space is an important domain which influences gendered identities. This makes changes at home as important as those that take place in the mine. The two spaces mutually reinforce each other and to make sense of gender identities enacted at work, the home space is as important.

In the narratives above, home was active both in the foreground and background of women's conceptions of themselves. Contrary to the idea of women being at ease at home, being 'like fish in water', their narratives show women who are living in multiple and sometimes

[290] See Moore (2013) about intergenerational reconstructions of mothering. In the article Moore (2013) traces changes and continuities in how three women in one family practiced "good mothering" and what they valued and did not valued and how these were linked to identity.

ambiguous zones of identity, continuously adapting their gender performances and striving to adopt appropriate gender identities for each space despite their habituses being products of the home space. The symbols, discourses, practices and ideas of femininity were not the same between home and work and as a result, women had to enact different performances and negotiate these spaces. The fact that they moved between such different worlds means that we were better positioned to see the performativeness of gender and the construction of identity.

Their experiences at home point not to harmonised performances of gender or to subjects who were 'like fish in water', but to contradictions, to negotiations of a contingent self, one that conforms to gender practices, but also disrupts and rejects them depending on the space, accountability regimes and audience present.

It seems to me that significant shifts in gender order, while not dependent on men, were more pronounced when men also bought into the project, when they too consistently practiced gender subversively, as in the case with Babalwa and her husband.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter I summarize my key findings and my argument and I provide a theoretical articulation of the construction of gendered identities as observed and narrated by workers. I then outline the contributions the study makes to methodology, theory, organisational and labour studies, literature on gender and spaces. Finally I point out the limits of the study and future research questions.

9.2 Summary of findings and argument

> *"...becoming subjects. That process emerges as one comes to understand how structures of domination work in one's own life, as one develops critical thinking and critical consciousness, as one invents new, alternative habits of being, and resists from that marginal space of difference inwardly defined. (bell hooks 1990:15)*

Above, I have shown a more nuanced and complex picture of the construction of gender identities in mining. I capture the fluid negotiations of gender performances and the multiple positions women choose. I provide a classification of categories of femininities enacted by women underground; the mafazi, money makers, real mafazi and madoda straight. I also demonstrate how these workplace gender performances differ between multiple spaces in mining such as the surface and underground space and home. I illustrate how women's gender performances at home sometimes run counter to their performances at work, and how this reveals the instability or vulnerability of gender.

From my data it is clear that women in mining do not enact femininities in passive and predetermined ways, they are active agents in the construction of their gendered identities in mining. The femininities they enact are as much a product of the gender games they play at work as they are a products of gendered meanings, discourses, orders, spaces, structures symbols and practices women navigate daily.

I argue and demonstrate that gendered spaces and gender performativity, embodiment, and bodies as material and social bodies which are sites of control, resistance and agency, all converge and are central in the construction of gendered identities. This is a dynamic, contingent, contested process, and is filled with contradictions where there are active and strategic refusals at times to enact certain gender performances or take certain subject positions.

9.3 Summary of Contributions

In this thesis I bring together literatures that rarely intersect and make contributions to mining literature, organisational, labour and gender studies. I also make a contribution in understandings of the complex process of transformation and its inherent contestations.

9.3.1 Contributions to Theory

Women's entrance into mining contributes greatly to understandings of the construction of gendered identities that are relentlessly and conscientiously performed and negotiated. It has indeed unveiled the variegated gender performances plausible underground. In this thesis I have demonstrated how a theoretical understanding of gender which is performative, relational and

embodied is a useful way of understanding gender in mining. The details I provide demonstrate the fluidity of gender and give more clarity on how gender operates in the labour process not only for control, but also for how workers are playing with gender and making sense of themselves. I elaborate on multiple identities enacted within the labour process and in that way I break down the homogenous view in how gender operates.

My analysis of mining which centres gender shows that mining is not only a site of capital extraction, or the labour process or only of historically significance but it is the site where the subjects are constituted in South Africa, especially when we take seriously the relationship and dialogue between the mines and home.

The presence of female bodies and gender performances they enact in spaces that have been marked as masculine allows for a clearer examination of the process of constructing new subjectivities. Women's ability to negotiate the multiple mining spaces so effectively and carry out mine work successfully stretches the definitional boundaries of what constitutes mining masculinity, who can embody it and the presence of femininities in mining.

My thesis contributes to organisational and labour literature which acknowledge the significance of bodies in gendering organisations and gendered organisations, in the labour process and in the construction of gendered identities in the workplace.

Above I have taken the presumed neutral body of a worker and I have done a gendered analysis of it and have shown how the body's materiality, its flesh and its gender cannot be wished away, it matters in the making of a mineworker subject. Bodies and embodiment are at the centre of workers', especially female workers, experiences at and of work. It is material bodies,

not only gendered social bodies, that are evoked when insiders are constructed and when women are othered. It is the body that enters different spaces, interactions and relations in mining and performs gender in specific ways and renders some mineworkers competent and others not. It is workers themselves who rework and remake these material bodies in order that they are viewed as mineworkers. Therefore, bodies and embodiment are important in the making and remaking of a mineworker subject. It is material, gendered, social bodies that conform to or resists gender expectations, discourses and practices. It is bodies that perform subversive acts or resists and display agency. Worker's bodies are both sites on which the mine directly acts but also one of agency. It is therefore from material bodies that the process of constructing gendered identities in mining materialises.

The presence of women in mining shows, indeed, that there are connections between material bodies and conceptions of a mineworker. This is despite silences in mining literature on bodies or assumptions which posits mineworkers as disembodied or which downplay the significance of the materiality of bodies of mineworkers or mainly emphasise it when the body can no longer work, when it has been in an accident or when it has been killed.

I also make a contribution to theory that takes gendered space seriously, where spaces are not seen as neutral backgrounds or passive surfaces, but active with their own rhythms, logics which are key in the construction of gendered identities (McDowell and Court 1994; McDowell 1999). I add that spaces not only have their own logics but that these 'logics' and spatial practices are gendered and informed by masculinity, they are interconnected and contested. It is these contestations in spaces that partly influence the production of gendered identities.

What I also contribute through this thesis is how different spaces produce different gendered identities. Consider Salzinger's (2003) study I refer to above, for example, where she looks at four different workplaces and comes up with fours ways in which gender is performed and produced in the Maquilas. In her analysis Salzinger argues that specific workplaces produces specific femininities. I differ in this regard. Instead of homogenising femininities enacted in each mine or each level I worked at, I look at and detail the differences and nuances within the same workplace. In my case it is not that in one workplace I have one gender identity but that each space within a workplace produces different gender identities, meaning gender performances differ within the same workplaces; women enact gender differently underground, above ground, in the cage, in the morning, in the afternoon, inside the shaft, at home and at church. In all the different spaces they navigate gender performances are articulated differently, there are a range of performances. And of course there are differences between women, I do not homogenise their different gender performances. There is fluidity in each space.

Unlike Salzinger's workers who were under constant surveillance on the shop floor, for my workers, once they get underground there is little institutional surveillance. While on surface there is surveillance by the company, the cage is an anarchic space where there is no surveillance, no institutional rules operating. Underground also has its own logic, and gender becomes the order. Once workers are underground they let go of institutional rules and logic and construct their own fluid logic, depending on what is at stake. It is at this juncture, at this intersection where there are few institutional rules that we see a productive agency deployed. It is at this space that gender as a way of ordering the space, becomes more pronounced and becomes another order, another form of authority and hierarchy which is re-established and re-defined by workers.

A factor that permeates throughout the thesis, additional to bodies and spaces, is performativity. To capture women's gender performances I offer four categories of femininities enacted in mining; women who emphasise femininity, women who enact what Ahmed calls feminist killjoys, women who reconcile femininity with masculinity and those who enact female manhood and are seen as honorary men. In these categories I demonstrate women's active role in the construction of their gender identities. In their daily practices they seek out and construct spaces of hope, spaces of resistance, where they creatively and strategically perform gender in ways that benefit them.

Bringing together bodies, spaces and performativity allows me to make sense of the nuances involved in the construction of gendered identities in mining. It is this particular workplace-the mine, which is a site of power, of control and discipline that allows me to construct this particular theory of gender which brings together bodies, embodiment, spaces and gender performances of workers.

Another contribution I make relates to masculinities as performativity instead of durable identities that they are often presented as. In South African labour studies theorizations of work, the labour process, do not adequately theorize masculinity they downplay performativity of masculinity, especially in mining where productivity relies so much on a stable masculine subject. I contribute to understandings of masculine identities as negotiated, fluid and contested.

The performativeness of gender that I demonstrate above mocks the idea of gender as a coherent whole, consistent, as an inner identity, especially in relation to mining masculinities. I reveal genders' malleability, its contingency and its multiplicity. The presence of women in

mining and ability to convincingly perform masculinity also shows the fluidity, performativity and vulnerability of masculinity.

9.3.2 Contributions to methodology

To understand the construction of gendered identities in mining I immersed myself in the field (work and social lives of workers) and used a variety of tools, from multiple different angles over a long period of time. This allowed me to probe from different angles, follow up on what seemed like contradictions between what was said and done, and to get at nuances and daily negotiations involved in the construction of gendered identities. The use of this combination of methods offers insights about women in mining that other studies have not been able to uncover.

Scholarship of women in mining tends to employ surveys, personal interviews, historical archives instead of observing and daily participating in the work process (Botha 2013; Botha & Cronjé 2014; Badenhorst 2012; Zungu 2012; 2013; Lahiri-Dutt 2006; Ralushai 2003; Benya 2009; Scheeper 2013; Botha 2013; 2014; Botha and Cronjé 2014; 2015).

My participation in the work process and embeddedness in the field for a length of time has enriched my data and it proved key to understanding how a mineworker is ‘made’ and ‘remade’ and the actual process of how gender is negotiated. It enabled me to submit myself to specific temporalities and contingencies and to acquire the embodied disposition demanded of mineworkers. It helped me reveal in-depth nuances, detailed in part through careful attention to language, that an interview or focus group would not have been able to unearth. To be

involved in the day-to-day practices underground gave me a real feel of the work done and how masculinities are mobilised in the work process and the two intimately interlinked.

It was my work with different gangs and daily presence that enabled me to decipher the different ways of enacting gender. Had I simply visited one gang or two gangs or only done interviews it would have given me very different results. The methods used, therefore, added tremendously value to both my reading and analysis of the data. This thesis, therefore, contributes to literature on embeddedness, levels of immersion in the field or on attachment and detachment in ethnography (Wacquant 2004; 2005; Srinivas 2002).

While ethnography demands full immersion, it is important we are clear about the limits of 'full' immersion, of being an insider. In my case, these limits were brought to bear after the Marikana massacre. Additionally, the position occupied by researchers is not simply that of an insider or outsider as theory seems to suggest. Through reflexivity I was able to see a more nuanced picture of moments of integration and those when I was seen as an outsider. The reality of the position of a researcher is more blurry, riddled with complexity and constantly shifting (Kelan 2009; Puwar 2004; Lande 2007). This study contributes to understandings of the shifts, the insider and outsider pendulum shifts. It also adds to literature on connections between professional, critical and public sociology as research sometimes requires that we move around the matrices of social life and take different roles that are not necessarily mutually exclusive (see Burawoy 2004; 2005).

I also add to the growing literature on the use of the diaries method (Plowman 2006, 2010; Symon 1998). The challenges I encountered while using the diary method on women in mining required that I adapt the techniques proposed by (Plowman 2006). Most women engaged in

physical work underground for seven to eight hours and had to do house chores when they got home and help their children with school work did not have enough time to devote to writing and others did not have enough motivation to write and reflect on their experiences. I had to improvise on the ground taking into account the different working realities and women's demands at home.

I also add to feminist studies that bring together the production and reproduction spaces. Most studies that look at women in mining or mining women tend to focus on one site; either work or home, but hardly both in detail. In this study I build on literature which advocates the use of a multi-site approach as a means of strengthening findings (Hannerz 2003). By bringing the two sites in conversation with each other I have illuminated the often invisible dialogue between work and home, a space that's seen as public and one that's seen as private. The multi-site approach demonstrates the negotiations in both spaces including home, where women are presumed to be 'themselves', to be enacting femininities in familiar ways and thus 'settled'.

I also add to literature on moral relativism when in the field (Srinivas et al. 2002: 10; Chakravarti 2002). Responses to the Marikana massacre, which was in some circles portrayed *simply* as an inevitable 'tragedy', were determined by how the media portrayed it and how people interpreted what happened on that day. Morals were highly contested with one side justifying[291] and even praising police actions, and another appalled by these very actions and likening them to the way the apartheid police treated black Africans who were seen to cause trouble for the apartheid state. Both sides appealed to people's morals. This shows that morals

[291] The justifications were that the miners were a threat to peace and security and thus the police had to act to protect themselves and restore peace in the community where the mountain is located.

are not universal, they are always contested and it is important that a researcher navigates these contestations with honesty, caution, not assume that their morals or the morals of the powerful hold high ground.

9.4 Policy Implications

Evidently, an inclusive and transformative agenda for women in mining will have to be more imaginative than the simple demands put forth by the legislation and quotas. This is because, despite the fact that women can now work underground and legislation which barred their entry has been removed, gender remains "a cultural currency" used to include and exclude. To change the industry one has to have their pulse on this cultural currency, how it is produced, maintained and reproduced (Kelan 2009:27).

There is no denying that the incorporation of women in mining is a 'significant' step towards breaking down gender barriers in mining. However, evidence suggests that it is not enough for redressing gender imbalances, transforming the masculine character and culture of the mines and occupations. To change the mines and promote gender equality, numbers are only the tip of the iceberg. To make a fundamental shift, one has to focus on the culture, the ways in which gender is practiced and the gendering practices of workers (Martin 2003).

Removal of discriminatory legislation and enforcement of quotas are useful in so far as they open up spaces and create an enabling environment but not in radically transforming spaces (Wolff 2010; Murray 2010; Hoekstra 2010; Scribner and lambert 2010). Numerical goals alone will not address fundamental issues of gender bias and gender discrimination in the mines. The occupational culture which is in the nuanced and often hidden patterns of thinking, doing,

saying, interacting that subordinate women will have to be at the centre of how transformation in mines is imagined. Without paying attention to the practices and discourses on the ground, and the gendered ways in which organisation are structured, operate, and reproduce themselves, quotas can only go up to so far. A truly gender transformative legislative agenda will have to take seriously questions of subjectivities, gender regimes and masculine occupational culture. It will have to creatively engage attitudinal dispositions of workers, of management and of women that are imperceptible yet determine which way the gender transformation project goes. The same can be said about transformation in other sectors, organisations and occupations in South Africa.

9.5 Transformative capacity of women in mining

I start off the thesis by stating that the presence of women in mining challenges the masculine occupational culture in mines and the notions of who can be a mineworker. What I do not dwell on upfront, but engage with throughout the thesis is the transformative capacity of the presence of women in the mining industry. To answer the question of whether the presence of women is transformative (culturally and socially as oppose to only policy and quotas) or merely reinforces male supremacy and masculine hegemony in mining is not a definitive yes or no.

To make sense of the transformative capacity of women in mining I draw from Connell's (2002) theory of change where she argues that it is possible for structures to change when they are in an explosive crisis mode, when there is enough and intensifying pressure calling for change and there are unsustainable contradictions both internally and externally that fundamentally undermine how the structure imagines itself. Change is possible, she argues,

when there are distinguishable interest groups that can be mobilised to aid with the change (Connell 2002).

What we know about women in mining is that their presence in the mines, especially in underground occupations which were previously reserved for men, is a threat to masculine symbolic power and long established gender patterns and order underground, and it is also perceived by many as an identity 'crisis', a fundamental contradiction to how mines are imagined. Whether this is 'enough' pressure to drive the structure into a crisis which necessitates a change is not clear. What is clear and important, however, is that we do not minimise transformative capacity of women in mining, or downplay or obscure the role played by women in challenging masculinity and troubling gender inequalities underground and implications that that rupture has for gender transformation in spaces like the mines. This is not an argument about numbers changing the mines, but about gender performances that are enacted shifting power and exposing the inequalities.

In line with this argument of gender transformative performances and identities enacted underground we also need to appreciate that the very notion of a 'female miner' is a disruption and is transgressive in and of itself, because it challenges essentialists and normative conceptions of who can be a miner (see also hooks 1990). This cannot simply be dismissed or equated to maintaining and reproducing the gender order and the masculine hegemony just because it does not lead to radical changes in the gender order and because structures, social order and social patterns are incredibly durable (as Enloe 1983; 2004 and Silva 2008 do). We have to recognise that women's presence in the mines dramatically highlights the masculine mining culture and thus opens up possibilities for changing it (see also Puwar 2004).

While the impact of the presence of women in mining can be disputed, what is not disputable is that their presence and ability to do the work and perform multiple gendered identities that subvert spatial gendered embodied logics and disrupts masculine hegemony agitates the structures and gatekeepers and makes uncomfortable some of those who have been marked as the only insiders. This is what Puwar (2004b:71) calls "the socio-spatial impact of the presence of bodies that are not the norm in a space heavily marker by historically located and shifting masculinities".

It is correct, for instance, that mafazi are not necessarily overturning the structure and gender power underground, but are reinforcing some ideas of women's domesticity and madoda straight women are reinforcing masculine hegemony. What is equally true is that the conditions of their release from their households, many with families who were initially opposed and even resisted their release to and employment in masculine mines where supposedly 'unskilled' and 'uneducated' men work, was in itself an act of defiance, a shift in general imaginings of the mines, a gendered resistance. Women's presence in mining, for many as defiance to families who are opposed to women working in the mines, is a disruptive act. To look at women's practices in one space and ignore other spaces or draw conclusions purely based on the underground space is to obscure realities and the shifts being made in other spaces like home and the disruptions they are 'activating' to hegemonic masculinity at home where patriarchy tends to thrive and is legitimised the most. These are tactics and strategies that must be appreciated, without overstating the matter, when considering whether women's practices in mining are transforming the industry or not. We need to appreciate women's tactics of engagement and also tactics of retreat as they navigate underground above ground and their home spaces.

We also need to appreciate that women are not simply marginalized or have no voice in the construction of their gendered identities. They are at the centre of them. In some of the gender performances enacted women actively choose marginality as their "site of resistance- as a location of radical openness and possibility" (hooks 1990:153). Choosing to occupy the margins, as they do at times, whether from a position of deep sense of exclusion and alienation, or from a place of strategy, does not mean they are powerless. In fact, it is in such spaces that a subjectivity is articulated, or a counter-hegemonic agency and practices are possible (see hooks 1990). They are "bargaining with patriarchy" (Kandiyoti 1988), bargaining with masculinity and with the mine culture as they position themselves in spaces where they can performed gender productively.

There is no denying that women's practices underground open up spaces of destabilisation where subversive practices are possible. It has also reconstructed boundaries around what and who constitutes a real mineworker. It is not simply that a mineworker can only be a male body and enact masculinity, but that it can now also be imagined as a female body which negotiates gender performances and identities. The recognition of multiple femininities by workers, their acknowledgement of the different ways women can and do perform femininities is shifting. The recognition that not all males embody mining masculinity and not all females subscribe to feminine ideals symbolises the complexity of the gender regime that is now operating underground.

What I wish to emphasise is that the transformative capacity of the presence of women in mining cannot simply be measured by looking at whether the mining industry has fully transformed, but by the gradual and multifaceted reimagining and reconfigurations of the industry. To downplay the impact that the presence of women in mining has had, whether as

mafazi or money makers or real mafazi or madoda straight or to downplay their role simply because they reinforced gender stereotypes in some instances or conform to gender roles as they navigate underground would be to erase their agency and render them invisible and obliterate the impact their presence has had in mining.

9.6 Future Research

While above I have demonstrated how gendered identities are constructed in mining, I have also raised more questions that need further investigation and gaps that need to be filled.
My study departs from and remains locked in the reductive gender binary logic in its analysis of gender identity construction. A study which would analytically disrupt this logic and make visible the gender continuum would add tremendous value and perhaps shift in very fundamental ways how we understand the gender identities of workers and gendering of the mines. To pay attention to worker's sexuality and incorporate it into the analysis would also enrich our theorising of gender and the mines.

Much of this thesis has concentrated on winch operators, equipment helpers and miners; women who are mainly in the production sections. I have made minor references to other sections such as engineering and support services underground. A study that looks at women who work in other sections and other occupations underground would add value. It would also be a major contribution on women in mining if we were to study women who work in other minerals such as gold, which has a long history of mining in South Africa and masculinity that is presumed deeply and firmly entrenched, much more than in platinum. This would yield very interesting findings on the construction of gendered identities.

It is clear that studies of women in mining have to go beyond numbers and policies and look closely into the culture and discursive practices of workers in order to address the inequalities and transform the industry.

9.7 Conclusion

To conclude, above I have wrestled with the notion of the making of gendered identities taking into consideration masculine occupational culture, consistent invocations of particular femininities, bodies (in their disciplined flesh and their multi-faceted forms and their fluidity), spaces, relations, gender performativeness and the history of the mines. I have demonstrated the multiple femininities enacted and negotiated by female mineworkers both at home and at work, the contestations, the tensions, the moments of rupture, the slippages between the rhetoric and practices in the process of negotiating and constructing subjectivities, a process which is informed by a range of cross cutting factors. Gendered identities in all of this are constantly and meticulously being negotiated, constructed and reconstructed. My findings highlight structural complexities in the inclusion of women in mining. I demonstrate that the gender practices, inequalities, masculine hegemony, are deeply ingrained in the mining regime or system which justifies their sustenance by evoking how masculinity is mobilized for productivity.

Appendices

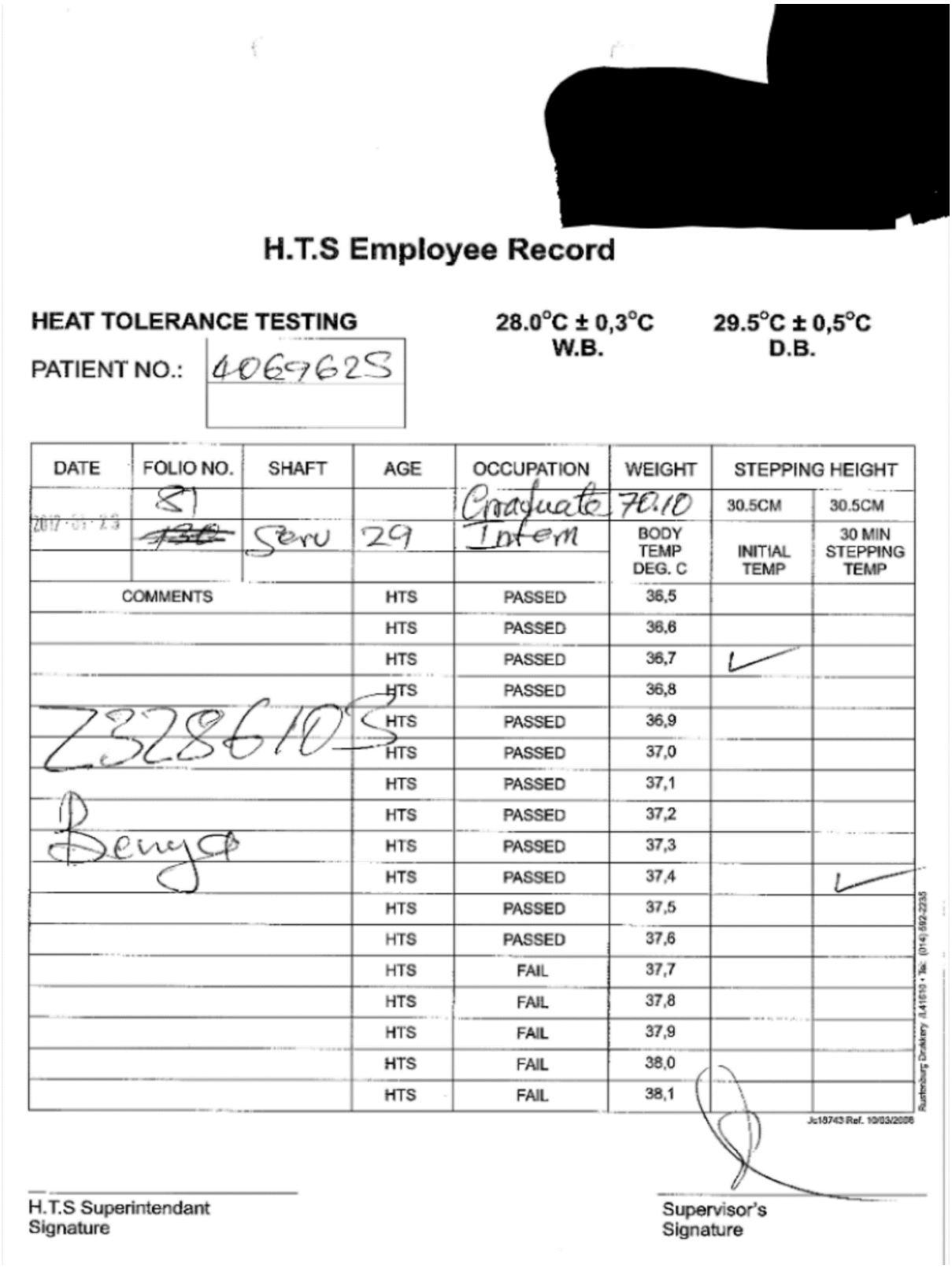
Appendix A 1: Women listening to a pre-Heat Tolerance Screening briefing.

Appendix A 2: Women being weighed before partaking in the HTS.

Appendix A 3: Women during the Heat Tolerance Screening.

Appendix A 4: Temperature check post-HTS.

Appendix A 5: The author's Heat tolerance record.



[redacted]

H.T.S Employee Record

HEAT TOLERANCE TESTING **28.0°C ± 0,3°C W.B.** **29.5°C ± 0,5°C D.B.**

PATIENT NO.: 4069625

DATE	FOLIO NO.	SHAFT	AGE	OCCUPATION	WEIGHT	STEPPING HEIGHT	
	87			Graduate	70.10	30.5CM	30.5CM
2017-01-23	~~130~~	Seru	29	Intern	BODY TEMP DEG. C	INITIAL TEMP	30 MIN STEPPING TEMP
COMMENTS			HTS	PASSED	36,5		
			HTS	PASSED	36,6		
			HTS	PASSED	36,7	✓	
			HTS	PASSED	36,8		
7328610			HTS	PASSED	36,9		
			HTS	PASSED	37,0		
			HTS	PASSED	37,1		
			HTS	PASSED	37,2		
Benya			HTS	PASSED	37,3		
			HTS	PASSED	37,4		✓
			HTS	PASSED	37,5		
			HTS	PASSED	37,6		
			HTS	FAIL	37,7		
			HTS	FAIL	37,8		
			HTS	FAIL	37,9		
			HTS	FAIL	38,0		
			HTS	FAIL	38,1		

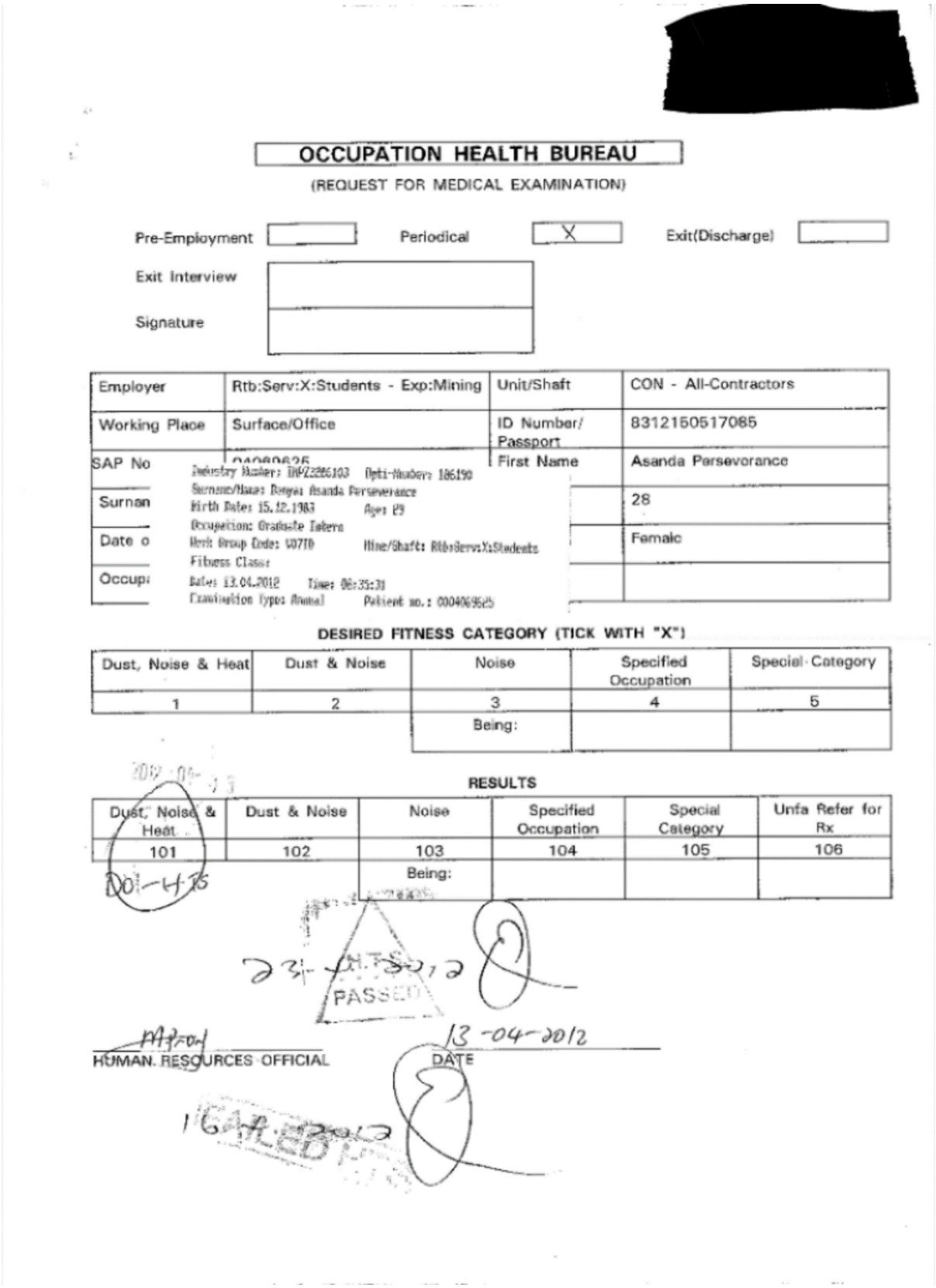
Jc18743 Ref. 10/03/2006

Rustenburg Drukkery (Edms) Bpk • Tel: (014) 592-2235

H.T.S Superintendant Signature

Supervisor's Signature

Appendix A 6: The author's Medical examination certificate.



[redacted]

OCCUPATION HEALTH BUREAU

(REQUEST FOR MEDICAL EXAMINATION)

Pre-Employment [ ] Periodical [X] Exit(Discharge) [ ]

Exit Interview

Signature

Employer	Rtb:Serv:X:Students - Exp:Mining	Unit/Shaft	CON - All-Contractors
Working Place	Surface/Office	ID Number/ Passport	8312150517085
SAP No	[redacted]	First Name	Asanda Perseverance
Surnan	Industry Number: INPZ2286103 Opti-Number: 186190 Surname/Name: Rengwa Asanda Perseverance Birth Date: 15.12.1983 Age: 29		28
Date o	Occupation: Graduate Intern Work Group Code: W07D Mine/Shaft: Rtb:Serv:X:Students		Female
Occupa	Fitness Class: Date: 13.04.2012 Time: 06:35:31 Examination Type: Annual Patient no.: 00040696		

DESIRED FITNESS CATEGORY (TICK WITH "X")

Dust, Noise & Heat	Dust & Noise	Noise	Specified Occupation	Special Category
1	2	3	4	5
		Being:		

RESULTS

Dust, Noise & Heat	Dust & Noise	Noise	Specified Occupation	Special Category	Unfa Refer for Rx
101	102	103	104	105	106
		Being:			

13-04-2012 PASSED

13-04-2012

HUMAN RESOURCES OFFICIAL DATE

16 APR 2012

Appendix B 1: The author's winch operator certificate of competence.

CERTIFICATE OF COMPETENCE

CERT NR: Z 3286103 OCCUPATION: WINCH OPERATOR

NAME: A. BENYA INDUSTRY NR: Z 3286103

ISSUE DATE: Permanent Certificate

Having been trained and assessed, is found to be competent and is therefore authorised *to operate machinery as a :*

WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O)

safely and in accordance with the applicable Code of Practice / Mine Standards / Mine Health and Safety Act, Regulations 29/1996.

ASSESSOR NAME (print) ASSESSOR'S SIGNATURE

HRD REPRESENTATIVE NAME (print) HRD REPRESENTATIVE

CERTIFICATE NR: Z 3286103

INDUSTRY NR: Z 3286103

NAME: A. BENYA

OCCUPATION: WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O)

TO OPERATE AS A - *WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O)*

DATE OF ISSUE:

OPERATORS PERMANENT CERTIFICATION PROOF

CERTIFICATE NR: Z 3286103

INDUSTRY NR: Z 3286103

NAME: A. BENYA

OCCUPATION: WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O)

TO OPERATE AS A - *WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O)*

DATE OF ISSUE:

OPERATORS PERMANENT CERTIFICATION PROOF

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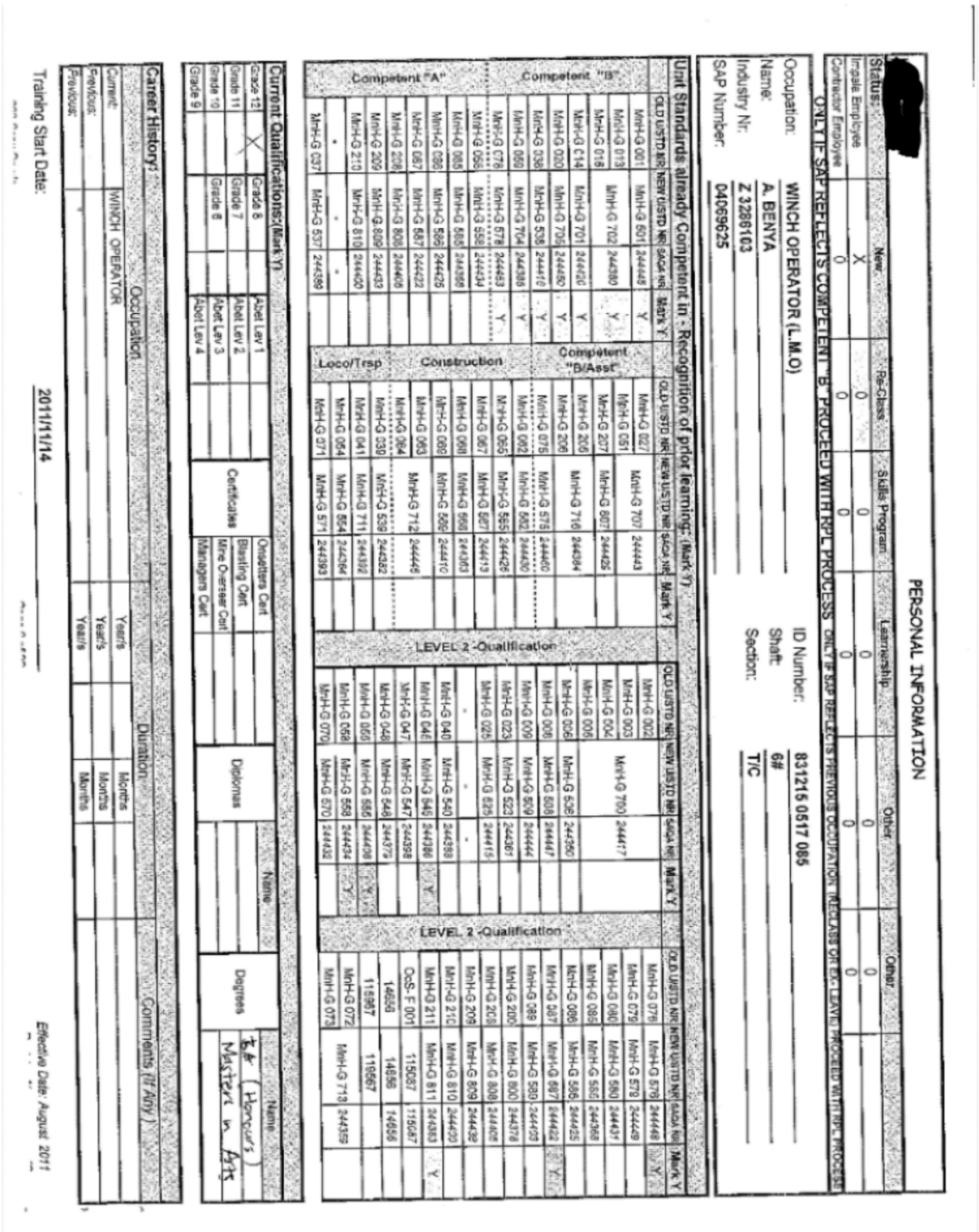
Effective Date: August 2011
Revision Nr: 12

Appendix B 2: The author's training centre workbook with Unit standards completed.



PERSONAL INFORMATION

Status: New: X | Re-Class: 0 | Skills Program: 0 | Learnership: 0 | Other: 0 | Other: 0

Irregular Employee | Contractor Employee: 0

UNLTF SAP REFLECTS COMPETENT "B" PROCEED WITH RPL PROCESS ONLY IF SAP REFLECTS PREVIOUS OCCUPATION (NEC/ASS OR EX) LEAVE PROCEED WITH RPL PROCESS

Occupation: WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O) ID Number: 831215 0517 085

Name: A BENYA Shaft: 6#

Industry Nr: Z 3286163 Section: T/C

SAP Number: 04069625

Unit Standards already Competent in - Recognition of prior learning: (Mark Y)

	OLD USTD NR	NEW USTD NR	SAQA NR	Mark Y
Competent "B"	MnH-G 001	MnH-G 601	244448	Y
	MnH-G 013	MnH-G 702	244380	Y
	MnH-G 016	MnH-G C14	MnH-G 701	244420	Y
	MnH-G 020	MnH-G 705	244480	Y
	MnH-G 036	MnH-G 536	244410	Y
	MnH-G 060	MnH-G 704	244389	Y
	MnH-G 078	MnH-G 578	244453	Y
Competent "A"	MnH-G 056	MnH-G 556	244434	
	MnH-G 085	MnH-G 585	244399	
	MnH-G 086	MnH-G 586	244425	
	MnH-G 087	MnH-G 587	244422	
	MnH-G 228	MnH-G 808	244406	
	MnH-G 209	MnH-G 809	244433	
	MnH-G 210	MnH-G 810	244402	
	"	"		
	MnH-G 037	MnH-G 537	244389	

Competent "B/Asst"	OLD USTD NR	NEW USTD NR	SAQA NR	Mark Y
Construction	MnH-G 027	MnH-G 707	244443	
	MnH-G 051			
	MnH-G 207	MnH-G 807	244426	
	MnH-G 206	MnH-G 716	244384	
	MnH-G 075	MnH-G 575	244400	
	MnH-G 082	MnH-G 582	244430	
	MnH-G 055	MnH-G 555	244426	
	MnH-G 067	MnH-G 567	244413	
	MnH-G 068	MnH-G 568	244363	
	MnH-G 080	MnH-G 580	244410	
	MnH-G 083	MnH-G 712	244445	
Loco/Trsp	MnH-G 064			
	MnH-G 039	MnH-G 539	244382	
	MnH-G 041	MnH-G 711	244392	
	MnH-G 054	MnH-G 554	244364	
	MnH-G 071	MnH-G 571	244393	

LEVEL 2 -Qualification	OLD USTD NR	NEW USTD NR	SAQA NR	Mark Y
	MnH-G 002	MnH-G 700	244417	
	MnH-G 003			
	MnH-G 004			
	MnH-G 006			
	MnH-G 006	MnH-G 536	244360	
	MnH-G 006	MnH-G 606	244447	
	MnH-G 009	MnH-G 609	244444	
	MnH-G 023	MnH-G 523	244361	
	MnH-G 025	MnH-G 625	244415	
	"	"		
	MnH-G 040	MnH-G 540	244393	
	MnH-G 046	MnH-G 545	244386	
	MnH-G 047	MnH-G 547	244358	
	MnH-G 048	MnH-G 548	244379	
	MnH-G 066	MnH-G 586	244438	
	MnH-G 068	MnH-G 558	244434	
	MnH-G 070	MnH-G 570	244432	

LEVEL 2 -Qualification	OLD USTD NR	NEW USTD NR	SAQA NR	Mark Y
	MnH-G 076	MnH-G 576	244448	
	MnH-G 079	MnH-G 578	244429	
	MnH-G 080	MnH-G 580	244431	
	MnH-G 085	MnH-G 585	244368	
	MnH-G 086	MnH-G 586	244425	
	MnH-G 087	MnH-G 687	244422	
	MnH-G 089	MnH-G 589	244429	
	MnH-G 200	MnH-G 800	244378	
	MnH-G 208	MnH-G 808	244406	
	MnH-G 209	MnH-G 809	244432	
	MnH-G 210	MnH-G 810	244420	
	MnH-G 211	MnH-G 811	244383	
	OcS- F 001	115087	115087	
	14858	14858	14858	
	115967	115967		
	MnH-G 072	MnH-G 719	244355	
	MnH-G 073			

Current Qualifications: (Mark Y)

Grade 12	X	Grade 6	Abet Lev 1	Certificates	Onsetters Cert	
Grade 11		Grade 7	Abet Lev 2		Blasting Cert	
Grade 10		Grade 8	Abet Lev 3		Mine Overseer Cert	
Grade 9			Abet Lev 4		Managers Cert	

Diplomas	Name

Degrees	Name
	BA (Honours)
	Masters in Arts

Career History:

	Occupation	Duration: Years	Months	Comments (If Any)
Current:	WINCH OPERATOR			
Previous:		Years	Months	
Previous:		Years	Months	

Training Start Date: 2011/11/14

Effective Date: August 2011

Appendix B 3: The author's training centre training and assessment record.

[redacted]

INDIVIDUAL TRAINING AND ASSESSMENT RECORD OF LEARNING

Training and Assessment Information

Your internal course nomination form will act as an application form for Training and Assessment registration

TRAINING

* You will be trained according to the new legislative requirements as laid out by the South African Qualification Authority
* You will be trained by a competent Education, Training and Development Practioner that has been appointed by the respective manager to conduct training
* You as a learner will be required to sign off for the training you received once the training has been completed

ASSESSMENT

* You will be assessed according to the new legislative requirements as laid out by the South African Qualification Authority
* You will be assessed by an assessor registered with the Mining Qualifications Authority

"Summative Assessment will be conducted on basis one-on-one that will comply with the Assessment principles as laid out by SAQA

* You as a learner will be required to sign off for assessment that has been conducted with you once the assessment has been completed
* If you as learner have been found not yet competent after an assessment has been conducted, and you feel that the process was not fair, valid and reliable you have the right to appeal. Approach your Human Resources practitioner on the shaft who will assist you with the appeals procedure.

I the under signed have been informed of the Training, Gathering of Evidence and Assessment process and understand what the process is about and accepts it.

OCCUPATION: WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O)

INDUSTRY NUMBER: Z 3285103 **SAP NUMBER:** 04059925

ID NUMBER: 831215 0517 [redacted] **ASSESSEE SIGNATURE:** _____

TRAINING START DATE: 2011/11/14 **TRAINING END DATE:** _____

					(Projected as per Schedule) Training flow and duration)	
STATUS	Now	Re-Class	Skills Program	Learnership	Other	Other
Impala Employee	X	0	0	0	0	0
Contractor Employee	0	0	0	0	0	0

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Effective date: August 2011
Revision No: 12

Appendix B 4: The author's Progress plotter card for the 1st Unit Standard.

WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O) INDUCTION 1 - INDUCTION PROGRESS PLOTTER

Occupation: WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O) SAP Number: 04069825

Name: A. BENYA ID Number: 831215 0517 0

Industry Number: Z 3286103 Shaft: 6# Section: T/C

AREA OF LEARNING

GENERIC UNDERGROUND EMPLOYEES INDUCTION

1 GENERIC INDUCTION
2 MAJOR LOSS ANNOUNCEMENTS
3 STANDARD COMMITTEE DECISION REGISTER
4 MINE MANAGERS DECISION REGISTER
5 WORKPLACE HAZARD IDENTIFICATION - ENTRY PROCEDURE
6 WORKPLACE HAZARD IDENTIFICATION - RISK ASSESSMENT
7 TOTAL POWER FAILURE
8 ZERO HARM
9 IYONI 11 - GAS DETECTOR - FRACTICAL / LAMPHOUSE - OCCUPATIONS: (Dev Rock Drill Operators / Night Shift Scraper Winch Operators / Night Shift Loader Operators)

Content:

DECLARATION:
I acknowledge herewith that I have been Trained in the Induction areas of learning and the above information is correct.

TRAINEE NAME: A. BENYA TRAINEE SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: 2011/11/14

I herewith declare that this trainee has been Trained and found to be capable to perform his duties safely and effectively.

INSTRUCTORS NAME: _____ INSTRUCTOR SIGN: _____ DATE: 2011/11/14

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Appendix B 5: The author's Induction 2 Progress Plotter.

[redacted] WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O) INDUCTION 2 - TRAINING AND FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT PROGRESS PLOTTER

Occupation: WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O) SAP Number: 04069625

Name: A. BENYA ID Number: 331215 0517 [redacted]

Industry Number: Z 3286103 Shaft: 6# Section: T/C

TRAINING PROCESS

1. TRAINING MUST BE CONDUCTED ACCORDING TO THE TRAINING MODULE PER UNIT STANDARD.
2. ENSURE THAT IMPALA SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS (COP, SWM, ETC.) ARE COVERED DURING TRAINING OF AN UNIT STANDARD
3. METHODS OF TRAINING - A. IMPALA EMPLOYEES FORMAL TRAINING (EFT) B. CONTRACTORS SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS TRAINING (CSRT)

OLD UNIT STD NR	NEW UNIT STD NR	UNIT STANDARD TITLE	METHOD OF TRN EFT	METHOD OF TRN CSRT	COMPONENT OF TRAINING	Trained	Form: Assess	INSTRUCTOR SIGN
MnH-G 046	MnH-G 548	TRANSPORT MATERIAL AND EQUIPMENT BY MEANS OF A MONO ROPE SYSTEM	ACI		1. Knowledge 2. Preparation 3. Do-Applied Skills 4. Post			ACI
MnH-G 055	MnH-G 555	INSTALL AND REMOVE PIPES AND ACCESSORIES	ACI		1. Knowledge 2. Preparation 3. Do-Applied Skills 4. Post			ACI
MnH-G 058	MnH-G 558	INSTALL AND REMOVE VENTILATION COLUMNS AND ACCESSORIES	ACI		1. Knowledge 2. Preparation 3. Do-Applied Skills 4. Post			ACI
MnH-G 076	MnH-G 576	EXTHINGUISH A FIRE UNDERGROUND BY MEANS OF A PORTABLE FIRE EXTINGUISHER	ACI		1. Knowledge 2. Preparation 3. Do-Applied Skills 4. Post			ACI
MnH-G 087	MnH-G 587	DEMONSTRATE KNOWLEDGE OF THE MOST COMMON HARMFUL GASSES AND VAPOURS	ACI		1. Knowledge 2. Preparation 3. Do-Applied Skills 4. Post			ACI
-	-	-			1. Knowledge 2. Preparation 3. Do-Applied Skills 4. Post			
-	-	-			1. Knowledge 2. Preparation 3. Do-Applied Skills 4. Post			

DECLARATION:

I acknowledge herewith that I have been Trained in the above Unit Standards and the above information is correct.

TRAINEE NAME: A. BENYA TRAINEE SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: _____

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Appendix B 6: The author's Training and Progress Plotter for drilling.

WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O) OCCUPATIONAL 4: DRILLING - TRAINING AND FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT PROGRESS PLOTTER

Occupation: WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O) SAP Number: 04069625

Name: A. BENYA ID Number: 831215 05[redacted]

Industry Number: Z 3286103 Shaft: 6# Section: T/C

TRAINING PROCESS

1. TRAINING MUST BE CONDUCTED ACCORDING TO THE TRAINING MODULE PER UNIT STANDARD.
2. ENSURE THAT IMPALA SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS *(COP, SWM, ETC.)* ARE COVERED DURING TRAINING OF AN UNIT STANDARD
3. METHODS OF TRAINING - A. IMPALA EMPLOYEES FORMAL TRAINING *(EFT)* B. CONTRACTORS SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS TRAINING *(CSRT)*

OLD UNIT STD NR	NEW UNIT STD NR	UNIT STANDARD TITLE	METHOD OF TRN: EFT	METHOD OF TRN: CSRT	COMPONENT OF TRAINING	Trained	Form Assess	INSTRUCTOR SIGN
MnH-G 025	MnH-G 629	DRILL HOLES UNDERGROUND BY MEANS OF A HAND HELD ROCK DRILL	✓		1. Knowledge	✓	✓	
					2. Preparation	✓	✓	
					3. Do-Applied Skills	✓	✓	
					4. Post	✓	✓	
McH-G 063	MnH-G 712	INSTALL A BLOCKING BARRICADE	✓		1. Knowledge	✓	✓	
					2. Preparation	✓	✓	
					3. Do-Applied Skills	✓	✓	
					4. Post	✓	✓	
MnH-G 369	MnH-G 639	CONSTRUCT AND INSTALL A PLATFORM	✓		1. Knowledge	✓	✓	
					2. Preparation	✓	✓	
					3. Do-Applied Skills	✓	✓	
					4. Post	✓	✓	
MnH-G 086	MnH-G 586	INSTALL UNDERGROUND WORKPLACE VENTILATION CONTROLS	✓		1. Knowledge	✓	✓	
					2. Preparation	✓	✓	
					3. Do-Applied Skills	✓	✓	
					4. Post	✓	✓	
					1. Knowledge			
					2. Preparation			
					3. Do-Applied Skills			
					4. Post			
-	-	-			1. Knowledge			
					2. Preparation			
					3. Do-Applied Skills			
					4. Post			
-	-	-			1. Knowledge			
					2. Preparation			
					3. Do-Applied Skills			
					4. Post			

DECLARATION:

I acknowledge herewith that I have been Trained in the above Unit Standards and the above information is correct.

TRAINEE NAME: A. BENYA TRAINEE SIGNATURE: DATE: 24.11.201[illegible]

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Appendix B 7: The author's Training and Progress Plotter for cleaning a drilled stope.

WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O) OCCUPATIONAL 5: STOPE CLEANING - TRAINING AND FORMATIVE ASSESSMENT PROGRESS PLOTTER

Occupation: WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O) SAP Number: 04069825

Name: A. BENYA ID Number: 831215 0

Industry Number: Z 3286103 Shaft: 6# Section: T/C

TRAINING PROCESS

1. TRAINING MUST BE CONDUCTED ACCORDING TO THE TRAINING MODULE PER UNIT STANDARD.
2. ENSURE THAT IMPALA SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS (COP, SWPs, ETC.) ARE COVERED DURING TRAINING OF AN UNIT STANDARD
3. METHODS OF TRAINING - A. IMPALA EMPLOYEES FORMAL TRAINING (IEFT) B. CONTRACTORS SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS TRAINING (CSRT)

OLD UNIT STD NR	NEW UNIT STD NR	UNIT STANDARD TITLE	METHOD OF TRN IEFT	METHOD OF TRN CSRT	COMPONENT OF TRAINING	Trained	Form. Assess	INSTRUCTOR SIGN
MnH-G 0423	MnH-G 7001	ASSEMBLE AND MAINTAIN SCRAPER CLEANING EQUIPMENT AND RIGGING	✓		1. Knowledge	✓		
					2. Preperation	✓		
					3. Do-Applied Skills	✓		
					4. Post	✓		
MnH-G 0426	MnH-G 5061	REMOVE BROKEN ROCK BY MEANS OF A SCRAPER WINCH IN AN UNDERGROUND WORKPLACE	✓		1. Knowledge	✓		
					2. Preperation	✓		
					3. Do-Applied Skills	✓		
					4. Post	✓		
MnH-G 0543	MnH-G 5541	REMOVE AN ACCUMULATION OF WATER FROM AN ORE PASS	✓		1. Knowledge	✓		
					2. Preperation	✓		
					3. Do-Applied Skills	✓		
					4. Post	✓		
MnH-G 0873	MnH-G 8471	CONSTRUCT A CONCRETE WINCH BED	✓		1. Knowledge	✓		
					2. Preperation	✓		
					3. Do-Applied Skills	✓		
					4. Post	✓		
-	-				1. Knowledge			
					2. Preperation			
					3. Do-Applied Skills			
					4. Post			
-	-				1. Knowledge			
					2. Preperation			
					3. Do-Applied Skills			
					4. Post			
-	-				1. Knowledge			
					2. Preperation			
					3. Do-Applied Skills			
					4. Post			

DECLARATION:

I acknowledge herewith that I have been Trained in the above Unit Standards and the above information is correct.

TRAINEE NAME: A. BENYA TRAINEE SIGNATURE: DATE: 17/11/11

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Appendix B 8: The author's assessment record.

INDIVIDUAL TRAINING AND ASSESSMENT RECORD OF LEARNING

To HR Department: [redacted] 6# Shaft

This Employee has been Trained and Assessed in:

Generic Induction 1	MnH-G 501	FOLLOW BASIC HEALTH AND SAFETY PRACTICES UNDERGROUND	-	-	
	MnH-G 538	MAKE SAFE A WORKPLACE BY MEANS OF BARRING	-	-	
	MnH-G 578	[illegible]	-	-	
	MnH-G 548	TRANSPORT MATERIAL AND EQUIPMENT BY MEANS OF A MONO ROPE SYSTEM	-	-	
Induction 2	MnH-G 555	INSTALL AND REMOVE PIPES AND ACCESSORIES	•	•	
	MnH-G 558	INSTALL AND REMOVE VENTILATION COLUMNS AND ACCESSORIES	-	-	
	MnH-G 576	EXTINGUISH A FIRE UNDERGROUND BY MEANS OF A PORTABLE FIRE EXTINGUISHER	-	-	
	MnH-G 587	DEMONSTRATE KNOWLEDGE OF THE MOST COMMON HAZARDS, GASSES AND VAPOURS	•	•	
Skills Program - Competent Person "B"	MnH-G 701	SUPPORT AN UNDERGROUND WORKING PLACE BY MEANS OF PACKS	-	-	
	MnH-G 702	SUPPORT AN UNDERGROUND WORKING PLACE BY MEANS OF TEMPORY SUPPORT UNITS	-	-	
	MnH-G 704	[illegible]	-	-	
	MnH-G 705	SUPPORT AN UNDERGROUND WORKING PLACE BY MEANS OF ANCHORS PLACED INTO DRILLED HOLES	-	-	MnH-G 625 DRILL HOLES UNDERGROUND BY MEANS OF A HAND HELD ROCK DRILL
	MnH-G 811	CONDUCT CONTINUED HAZARD IDENTIFICATION AND RISK ASSESSMENT WITHIN A WORKPLACE	-	-	MnH-G 712 INSTALL A BLOCKING BARRICADE
Skills Program - Competent Person "B/Asst"	MnH-G 576	INSTALL AN INITIATING SYSTEM USED IN BLASTING OPERATION UNDERGROUND	Occ Lev 2 - Drilling	MnH-G 569	CONSTRUCT AND INSTALL A PLATFORM
	MnH-G 707	CHARGE SHOTHOLES WITH PRIMED EXPLOSIVES		MnH-G 586	INSTALL UNDERGROUND WORKPLACE VENTILATION CONTROLS
	MnH-G 716	TIME A BLASTING ROUND OR CIRCUIT ON A FACE WHERE SHOCK TUBES ARE USED	-	-	
	MnH-G 807	[illegible]	Occ Lev 2 - Stope Cleaning	MnH-G 700	ASSEMBLE AND MAINTAIN SCRAPER CLEANING EQUIPMENT AND RIGGING
	-	-		MnH-G 554	REMOVE AN ACCUMULATION OF WATER FROM AN ORE PASS
	-	-		MnH-G 567	CONSTRUCT A CONCRETE WINCH BED
	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-

and is therefore declared Competent by a registered Assessor

Occupation: WINCH OPERATOR (LM.O)
Name: A. BENYA
ID Number: 831215 05 [redacted] SAP Nr: 04069625
Industry Number: Z 3286103
Section: T/C
Training Start Date: 2011/11/14
Training End Date: (Projected as per Scheduled Training flow and duration)

Specific Task Centre Stamp here
Print Date: 2011/11/14

Name & Surname (Print) HRD Representative [redacted] Industry nr. HRD Representative Signature HRD Representative

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Appendix B 9 : The author's training and progress data summary.

[redacted]

RECORD OF LEARNING - DATA SUMMARY

Occupation:	WINCH OPERATOR (L.M.O)	SAP Number:	04069625
Name:	A. BENYA	ID Number:	831215 05[redacted]
Industry Number:	Z 3286103	Shaft:	6#
Training Start Date:	2011/11/14	Training End Date:	Section: T/C

ASSESSOR TO COMPLETE - for each Unit Standard Assessed (if not Assessed indicate N/A)

SCHEDULED TRAINING COURSE	OLD UNIT STD: NR	NEW UNIT STD.NR	REG NR - ASSESSOR	ASSESSOR INI & SURNAME	SCHEDULED TRAINING COURSE	OLD UNIT STD.: NR	NEW UNIT STD.NR	REG NR - ASSESSOR	ASSESSOR INI & SURNAME
Generic Induction 1	MnH-G 001	MnH-G 501				-	-		
	MnH-G 038	MnH-G 538				-	-		
	MnH-G 078	MnH-G 578				-	-		
Induction 2	MnH-G 045	MnH-G 545				-	-		
	MnH-G 055	MnH-G 555				-	-		
	MnH-G 056	MnH-G 556				-	-		
	MnH-G 076	MnH-G 576				-	-		
	MnH-G 087	MnH-G 587				-	-		
	MnH-G 014	MnH-G 701				-	-		
Skills Program - Competent Person "B"	MnH-G 013	MnH-G 702				-	-		
	MnH-G 059	MnH-G 734				MnH-G 025	MnH-G 525		
	MnH-G 029	MnH-G 705				MnH-G 053	MnH-G 712		
	MnH-G 211	MnH-G 811			Occ Lev 2 - Drilling	MnH-G 069	MnH-G 569		
Skills Program - Competent Person "B/Asst"	MnH-G 075	MnH-G 575				MnH-G 086	MnH-G 586		
	MnH-G 027	MnH-G 707				-	-		
	MnH-G 206	MnH-G 716							
	MnH-G 207	MnH-G 807				-	-		
	-	-				MnH-G 002	MnH-G 700		
	-	-			Occ Lev 2 - Stope Cleaning	MnH-G 006	MnH-G 506		
	-	-				MnH-G 054	MnH-G 554		
	-	-				MnH-G 087	MnH-G 587		
	-	-			12	-	-		
	-	-				-	-		
	-	-				-	-		

Captured by COMC

The results for this person have been recorded on the system and manual documents has been forwarded to central records for filing.

Comments: (if any)

Name Capturer: _____

Signature Capturer: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C 1: A female mineworker operating a winch.

Appendix C2: Scrapers which are connected to the winch and used to pull the ore from the face to the tip.

Appendix D: Workers barring down loose rocks.

Appendix E: a worker installing temporary support jacks.

Appendix F: Workers planting explosives that will aid in breaking the big rocks.

Appendix G: Management Brief on Union Membership Cancellation.

SUBJECT: UNION MEMBERSHIP CANCELLATION

Management would like to advise the employees who have expressed an intention to resign from National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) on 30 March 2012 that the cancellation of monthly union membership stop orders has been effected. The cancellation of the stop orders was effected on 19 April 2012 following an internal verification process. Due to the volumes and staggered nature of the verification process, further cancellation requests were processed on 10 May 2012.

All employees are advised that should they have any queries with regard to their union membership cancellation, they should contact the Time Office or Payroll Department in a peaceful manner which will not impact on the operations.

I appreciate your cooperation

Appendix H: English and Setswana Interview Consent form.

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
Private Bag X 3,
Johannesburg, 2050

Interview Consent form

I _____ (Full name) agree to being interviewed by Asanda Benya who is a student at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg for her Doctoral research project on Women in Mining: Subjectivities and Gendered Identities in Mining. I volunteer to participate in her study and understand that I am free to withdraw at any time should I decide I no longer want to participate, even in retrospect. I understand my right to refuse to answer any questions. I understand that she will give a copy of her thesis to the mine and I can also have a copy of the report. I will remain completely anonymous, no information that may identify me will be reported on her study and information I divulge to Asanda shall be used for her Doctoral Research project and other academic work.

Signed _____
Date _____

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
Private Bag X 3,
Johannesburg, 2050

Foromo ya tetla ya patlamaikutlo

Nna _____(Maina a feleletseng) ke dumela go buisana le Asanda Benya yo e leng moithuti kwa Yonibesiting ya Witwatersrand, Johannesburg mabapi le porojeke ya gagwe ye PhD e e ithutang ka ga Basadi mo go tsa meepo, kwa meepo ya menerala. Ke ithaopa go tsea karolo mo dithutong e bile ke tlhaloganya gore nka ikgogela morago nako nngwe fa ke sa tlhole ke battle go tsea karola mo dithutong le fa e le go atlhathla tse di fitileng. Ke tlhaloganya gore ke tet;a ya me go ka gana go araba dipotso dingwe. Boitshupo ba me bo tlo nna sephiring, ga gona tshedimosetso e e tla kwadiwang kgotsa ya buiwang go ka tlhagisa boitshupo ba me mo dithutong tsa gagwe gape le tshedimosetso e ke e tlhagisang so Asanda e tla dirisiwa dithuto tsa porojeke ya PhD FELA.

Tshaeno _____

Letlha _____

Appendix I: English and Setswana Consent forms for tape recording.

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
Private Bag X 3,
Johannesburg, 2050

Consent form for tape recording

I _____ agree to my interview with Asanda Benya for her study on women in mining being tape recorded. This tape and transcripts will not be seen or listened to by anyone else besides Asanda Benya and will solely be used for her Doctoral Research and other academic purpose. All the recordings will be archived, with my identity protected, after the research.

Signed _____

Date _____

Foromo ya tetla ya kgatiso

Nna_____ ke dumela gore dipuisano tsa me le Asanda Benya mabapi le dithuto tsa gagwe ka ga Basadi mo go tsa meepo di ka gatiswa. Dikgatiso le IIIIIII ga di kake tsa bonwa kgotsa tsa reediwa ke mongwe le mongwe ga e se Asanda Benya fela, e bile di tla dirisetswa dithuto tsa gagwe tsa PhD fela. Dikgaiso tsotlhe di tla latlhiwa morago ga dipatlisiso.

Tshaeno _____

Letlha _____

Appendix J 1: Underground occupations by gender, race and job scale.

Occupation	Gender	Paterson Grade	Ethnicity	Total
Development RDO	Male	B1	African	1153
			Coloured	1
	♂ Total			1154
Development RDO Total				**1154**
Equipping Helper	Female	A4	African	297
			Coloured	1
		A4 Total		298
	♀ Total			298
	Male	A4	African	982
			Coloured	1
			White	2
		A4 Total		985
	♂ Total			985
Equipping Helper Total				**1283**
Equipping Helper Production	Female	A4	African	4
		A4 Total		4
	♀ Total			4
	Male	A4	African	263
		A4 Total		263
	♂ Total			263
Equipping Helper Production Total				**267**
LHD Operator	Male	B4	African	190
			Coloured	1
		B4 Total		191
	♂ Total			191
LHD Operator Total				**191**

Loader Operator	Male	A4	African	177
		A4 Total		177
	♂ Total			177
Loader Operator Total				**177**
Loco Operator	Female	A4	African	64
		A4 Total		64
	♀ Total			64
	Male	A4	African	1796
			Coloured	2
			White	1
		A4 Total		1799
	♂ Total			1799
Loco Operator Total				**1863**
Miner	Female	C1	African	50
		C1 Total		50
	♀ Total			50
	Male	C1	African	1492
			Coloured	2
			White	22
		C1 Total		1516
	♂ Total			1516
Miner Total				**1566**
Panel Leader	Female	B4	African	20
		B4 Total		20
	♀ Total			20
	Male	B4	African	385
		B4 Total		385
	♂ Total			385

Panel Leader Total				**405**
Panel Operator	Female	A4	African	2
		A4 Total		2
	♀ Total			2
	Male	A4	African	608
		A4 Total		608
	♂ Total			608
Panel Operator Total				**610**
Rock Breaker Operator	Female	B1	African	22
		B1 Total		22
	♀ Total			22
	Male	B1	African	69
		B1 Total		69
	♂ Total			69
Rock Breaker Operator Total				**91**
Scraper Winch Operator	Female	A4	African	88
		A4 Total		88
	♀ Total			88
	Male	A4	African Coloured	6832 5
		A4 Total		6837
	♂ Total			6837
Scraper Winch Operator Total				**6925**
Sectional Gang Leader	Female	B2	African	5
		B2 Total		5
	♀ Total			5
	Male	B2	African	537
		B2 Total		537

	♂ Total			537
Sectional Gang Leader Total				**542**
Shaft RDO	Male	B1	African	28
		B1 Total		28
	♂ Total			28
Shaft RDO Total				**28**
Shift Supervisor	Female	C5	African	2
		C5 Total		2
	♀ Total			2
	Male	C5	African	255
			Coloured	3
			White	105
		C5 Total		363
	♂ Total			363
Shift Supervisor Total				**365**
Stope RDO	Female	B1	African	1
		B1 Total		1
	♀ Total			1
	Male	B1	African	3681
			Coloured	2
		B1 Total		3683
	♂ Total			3683
Stope RDO Total				**3684**
Stores Issuer	Female	A4	African	169
			Coloured	1
		A4 Total		170
	♀ Total			170

	Male	A4	African	163
	♂ Total			163
Stores Issuer Total				**333**
Tip Helper	Female	A4	African	34
	♀ Total			34
	Male	A4	African	202
	♂ Total			202
Tip Helper Total				**236**

Appendix J 2: Occupations by gender

Occupation	**Female**	Male	**Grand Total**
Belt Attendant	58	187	**245**
DMTS Driver	1		**1**
Full Time Health And Safety Rep		22	**22**
Hoist Operator	5	11	**16**
Hoist Operator Supervisor		1	**1**
Lamp house Gang Leader	3	12	**15**
Lamps man & Fuse Issuer No U/G Service	17	24	**41**
Loader Operator		177	**177**
Rock Engineering Observer		1	**1**
Senior Technical Trainer		7	**7**
TM3 Superintendent		1	**1**
Forklift Driver	2	2	**4**
Water Jet Operator	1	119	**120**
Lamp Repairer	39	78	**117**
Tip Helper	34	202	**236**
Development RDO		1154	**1154**
Senior Human Resources Officer		2	**2**
Section Surveyor		13	**13**
Clerk		1	**1**
Senior Sampler	2	2	**4**
Survey Gang Leader		4	**4**
Mine Manager		19	**19**
General Manager: Mining Operations		9	**9**
Manager: Engineering Projects		1	**1**
Electrical Assistant	139	289	**428**
Shaft Helper	54	215	**269**

Mechanical Assistant	206	571	**777**
Artisan Aide Rigger		9	**9**
Shaft Timberman		66	**66**
Loco Operator	64	1799	**1863**
Main Line Loco Gang Leader (Production)		10	**10**
Shaft Gang Leader	1	125	**126**
Artisan Aide Boilermaker		15	**15**
Cage Helper	57	239	**296**
Boilermaker Serviceman	19	148	**167**
Bell And Box Attendant	9	107	**116**
Artisan Aide Electrical		29	**29**
Pump Gang Leader	1	59	**60**
Mechanical Serviceman	18	168	**186**
Lift Attendant		5	**5**
Battery Attendant	39	86	**125**
Shaft Pump Attendant	7	12	**19**
Electrician	50	208	**258**
Banksmen/Onsetter	22	129	**151**
Compressor Operator/Driver	1	40	**41**
Artisan Aide Fitter		20	**20**
Mechanical Grab Operator	1	50	**51**
Electrical Serviceman	30	205	**235**
EMTS Driver	31	39	**70**
Boilermaker Plater	6	161	**167**
Winding Engine Driver Relieving	2	19	**21**
Winding Engine Driver	7	55	**62**
Fitter & Turner	22	159	**181**

Change house Helper	9	42	**51**
Chairlift Attendant	25	41	**66**
Rigger & Ropesman Serviceman	1	52	**53**
Engineering Superintendent		3	**3**
Rigger & Ropeman		40	**40**
Foreman Mechanical		39	**39**
Foreman Electrician	2	45	**47**
Shaft Foreman		21	**21**
Operations Engineer		16	**16**
Cleaner	5	2	**7**
Materials Transport Coordinator		7	**7**
Stores Issuer	170	163	**333**
Conveyor Operator	16	113	**129**
Sectional Gang Leader	5	537	**542**
Dresser Gang Leader	13	39	**52**
Scraper Winch Operator	88	6837	**6925**
Shaft RDO		28	**28**
Conveyor Foreman		10	**10**
EMTS/DMTS Crew Leader		11	**11**
Equipping Helper	298	985	**1283**
Winch Mover Helper	1	378	**379**
Finance Clerk	32	52	**84**
Head Clerk	42	14	**56**
Administrative Supervisor - Payroll	8	6	**14**
Accountant	13	7	**20**
Senior Accountant	3	4	**7**
Human Resources Assistant	27	43	**70**
Human Resources Manager		7	**7**

Human Resources Officer	9	17	**26**
Miner	50	1516	**1566**
Stope RDO	1	3683	**3684**
Winch Mover		222	**222**
Shift Supervisor	2	363	**365**
Panel Leader	20	385	**405**
Mine Overseer	1	59	**60**
Equipping Helper Production	4	263	**267**
Novice Mining Trainee (Temp)		1	**1**
Novice Mining Trainee	1	12	**13**
Panel Operator	2	608	**610**
Survey Crew Leader		73	**73**
Environmental Gang Leader		39	**39**
Sanitation Attendant		33	**33**
Sanitation Gang Leader		12	**12**
Sampling Helper	47	59	**106**
Chief Surveyor	1	10	**11**
Senior Section Surveyor		7	**7**
Diamond Saw Operator		23	**23**
Valuator Assistant	9	38	**47**
Survey Clerk	16	1	**17**
Logistics Supervisor		8	**8**
Assistant Surveyor		1	**1**
Senior Geologist		15	**15**
Section Valuator	1	12	**13**
Environmental Helper	31	146	**177**
Survey Helper	41	107	**148**
Strata Control Officer	1	25	**26**

Full Time Shaft Steward	2	71	**73**
Surveyor	8	47	**55**
Grade Control Observer	17	33	**50**
Ventilation Officer	5	36	**41**
Safety Co-Ordinator		1	**1**
Valuator	2	13	**15**
Trainee Valua/Surv/Vent/Geol/Strata	4	11	**15**
Certified Instructor	2	12	**14**
Rock Engineering Officer		2	**2**
Senior Surveyor	3	15	**18**
Training Instructor	4	18	**22**
Chief Ventilation Officer		12	**12**
Pump Attendant	16	106	**122**
Sanitation Helper		8	**8**
Change house Leading Hand		6	**6**
General Foreman		5	**5**
Sanitation Pump Operator		2	**2**
Certificated Mining Trainee	1	2	**3**
Operations Geologist	2	3	**5**
Human Resources Superintendent	1	12	**13**
Technical Trainer		5	**5**
Boilermaker Helper	2	3	**5**
Junior Engineer		2	**2**
Senior Clerk - Payroll	3	4	**7**
Operations Accountant	1	4	**5**
Mining Engineer In Training (Graduate)	3	2	**5**
Engineering Superintendent: Conveyor		4	**4**
Rigger Helper	2	61	**63**

Senior Clerk		1	**1**
TM3 Mechanician	6	85	**91**
Engineering Superintendent: TM3		1	**1**
TM3 Foreman		16	**16**
PMA Officer	2		**2**
Senior PMA Officer	3		**3**
Auto Electrician		12	**12**
Instrument Mechanician		3	**3**
LHD Operator		191	**191**
Utility Vehicle Driver	12	45	**57**
Rock Breaker Operator	22	69	**91**
Electrohydraulic Drill Rig Operator	1	66	**67**
Mobile Crane Operator		3	**3**
Serviceman Mechanician	4	8	**12**
3Rd Year Engineering Learner (In House)		1	**1**
3rd Year Engineering Learner		3	**3**
Senior Operations Engineer		1	**1**
Training Clerk	1		**1**
Strata Control Observer		1	**1**
Trainee: Survey		1	**1**
Quantity Surveyor		1	**1**
Telehandler Driver	6	23	**29**
Dump Truck Operator		19	**19**
Specialised Electrohydraulic Drill Rig		24	**24**
Engineering Helper		4	**4**
Underground Construction Manager		1	**1**
Senior Rock Engineering Officer		4	**4**
Learner Serviceman		1	**1**

Shaft Systems Monitor	1	2	**3**
Mining Engineer In Training (Diplomate)	1	1	**2**
Shaft Systems Co-ordinator	9	8	**17**
Shaft Control Room Operator	2	4	**6**
Tractor Driver		2	**2**
Incapacitation Trainee	1		**1**
Strata Control Technician	5	29	**34**
Panel Leader - SWO		7	**7**
Administrative Supervisor - Finance	1	1	**2**
Senior Quantity Surveyor		2	**2**
Motor Mechanic		2	**2**
Position			**1**
Grand Total	**2098**	**25508**	**27607**

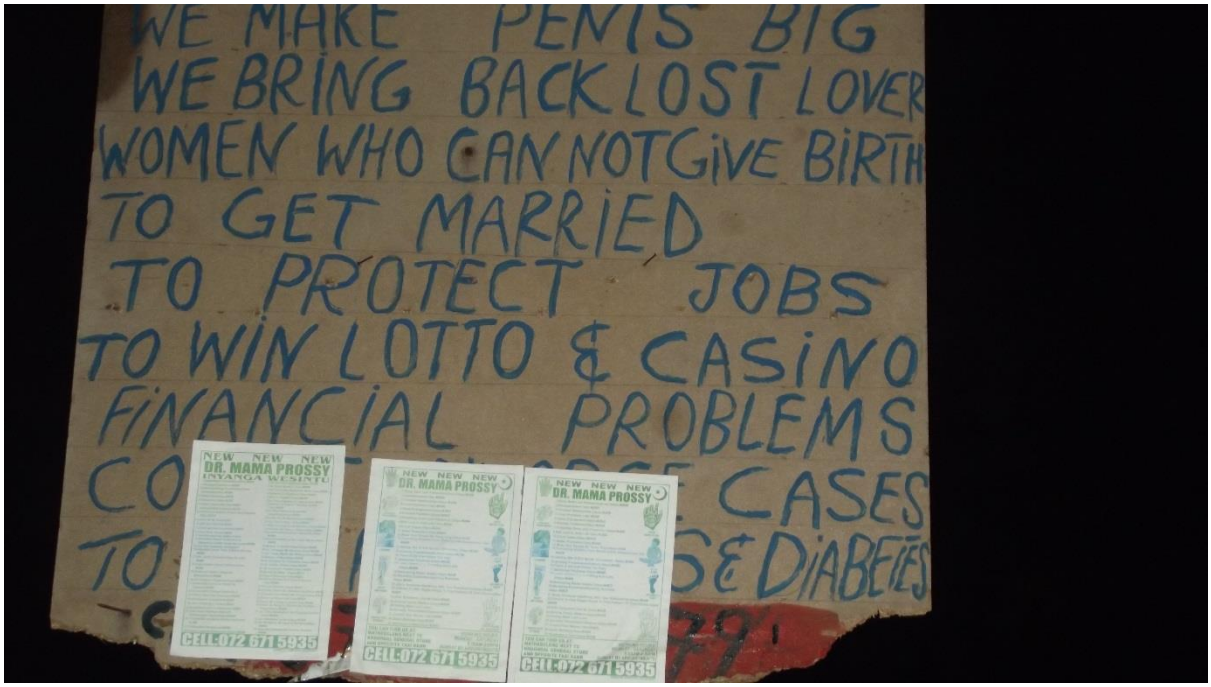
Appendix J3: Rustenburg work force (excluding the refinery) by department, gender and location.

Department	**Gender**	**Surface/Office**	**Underground**
Capital	Female	14	62
	Male	9	434
Capital Total		**23**	**496**
Engineering	Female	103	798
	Male	345	4107
Engineering Total		**448**	**4905**
Finance	Female	65	
	Male	85	
Fin Total		**150**	
Human Resources	Female	36	
	Male	75	
HR Total		111	
Mining	Female	4	623
	Male	3	19277
Mining Total		**7**	**19900**
Min Occupational Health (Hospital staff)	Female	39	354
	Male	63	1110
Min OH Total		**102**	**1464**
Grand Total		**841**	**26765** [292]

292 This number excludes workers who were on their annual leave or off sick on the specific day the data was drawn from the system and those who work in other provinces and refineries, hence 26 765 instead of 35 470.

Appendix K 1: A poster advertising the specialities of Prof Akim, a traditional healer.

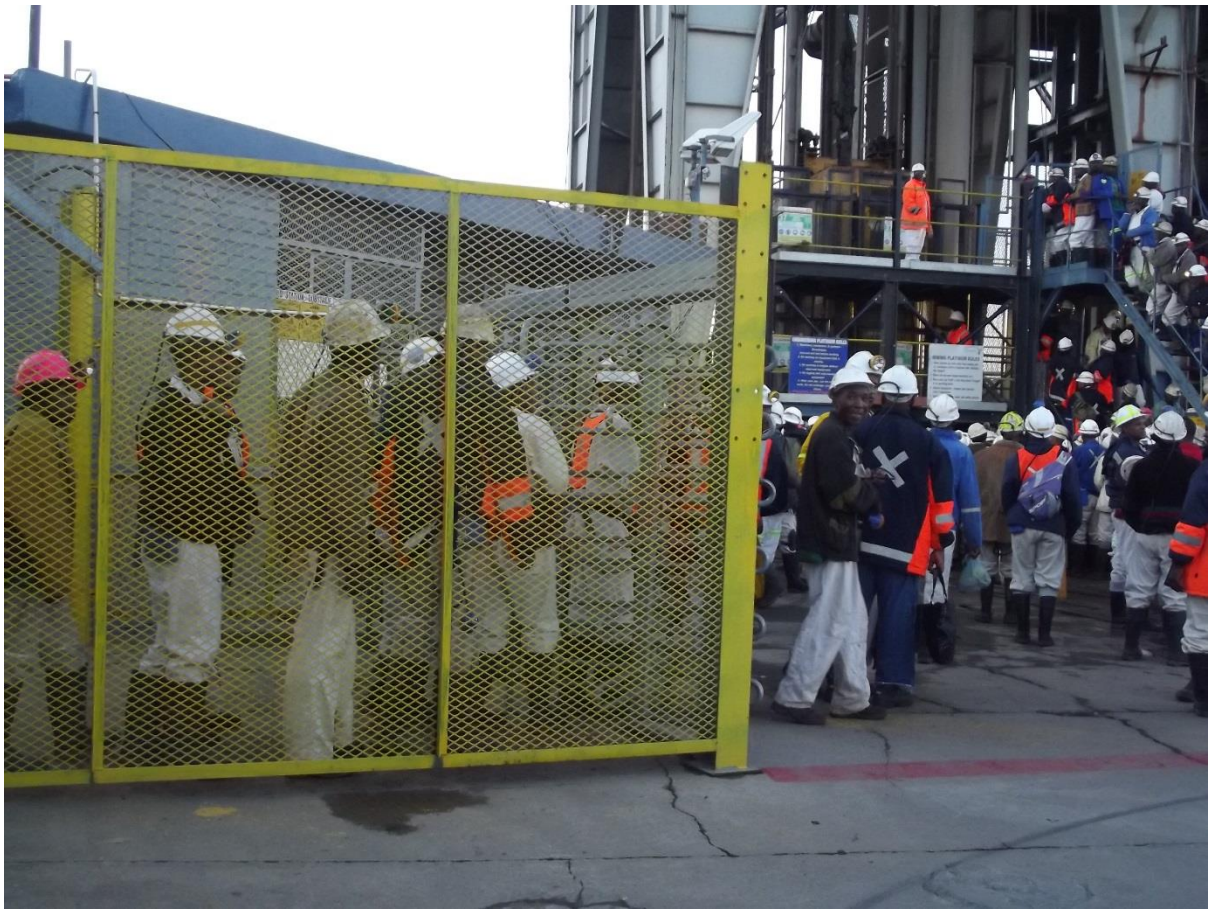
Appendix K 2: One of the many posters found outside the shaft.



Appendix K 3: A wall where notices are put up including cage times.

Appendix L: Entrance to the cage yard with safety and PPE reminders.

Appendix M: Workers going to catch the cage going down underground.



Appendix N 1: A photo of underground close to the tip and cage station.

Appendix N2: Inside a panel underground.

Appendix N 3: Miners marking the face for drilling.

Appendix O: Male workers working top-less because of the heat.

Appendix P: A worker drilling the face.

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